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Margaret of Scotland: Queen and Saint

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Margaret of Scotland

Queen and Saint

Her Influence on the Early Church in Scotland

BY

T. Ratcliffe Barnett, Ph.D.

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Foreword

No Queen in Scotland ever exerted so great an influence on the Church as Saint Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore. In our ecclesiastical history she stands unique. But, in writing any account of her life, the two questions of supreme interest are—first, what circumstances moulded her religious opinions in the days of her youth and gave her this extraordinary passion for the Church; and second, what use did she make of her devotion to the Catholic Faith in remoulding the ancient Celtic Church, which she found at variance on certain points from the Roman Rule in the land of her adoption?

The sources of information for her actual history are to be found mainly in Turgot's "*Vita.*" Hitherto nothing has been found in the historical records of Hungary—the land of her birth—to throw light on the early years of Margaret's residence there. This total lack of records about the residence of the Aethelings in Hungary is explained by the fact that the *vestigia* of these English princes, with many

other ancient Hungarian manuscripts, perished during the invasion of Hungary by the Mongolian Tartars in the winter of 1271-1272.

It will, however, be the especial object of this inquiry to explore the various circumstances which may help to account for the early bent of Margaret Aetheling for the Catholic Faith, and to show what an extraordinary influence she exerted at a later period on the Early Church in Scotland. Nothing, therefore, in her life which bears any testimony to her religious vocation will be considered alien to the scope of this work. Whether she had lived or not, the Roman Rule would doubtless have spread northwards to Scotland and modified the primitive forms of the Celtic monks. Queen Margaret, in the course of history, became the means of this Roman Influence reaching Scotland. So, she must ever remain a unique personality in the religious history of Scotland.

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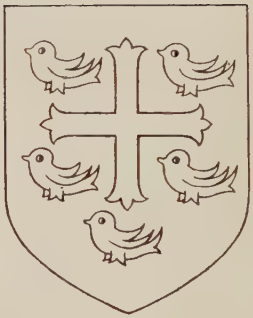
The arms of Eadward the Confessor, who founded Westminster Abbey, which was dedicated in 1065.



The arms of Queen Margaret, his great niece, which are the arms of the Burgh of Queensferry to-day.

[*Face page* 1.

Margaret of Scotland: Queen and Saint

CHAPTER I

THE ANCESTRY OF QUEEN MARGARET

History is so much a unity, that when we inquire in the twentieth century into events which took place in the eleventh century, we must not consider them as remote from us to-day or trivial in themselves. Nothing in history is remote or trivial; for we must look for the foundations of to-day in yesterday; and the smallest happenings often give rise to the greatest movements.

All this is strikingly illustrated in the life of Queen Margaret. She was the daughter of an exiled Saxon prince who was banished from England in his infancy and had found a refuge in Hungary. There he married a Hungarian lady of royal blood. After many years he returned to England with his wife and three children, one of whom was Margaret. By the apparent sport of circumstance and a sudden storm at sea, this royal maid was

driven on the shores of Scotland. Forced to sojourn in that land, she afterwards married Malcolm Canmore, the King of Scots, and thus became the means of influencing the religion of a whole nation which was foreign to her in blood, culture, and ecclesiastical custom.

The facts known to us about her birth and early years are very meagre, and the story of her origin is soon told.

In the early years of the eleventh century England was a battle-ground of royal Saxon and royal Dane. Queen Margaret's ancestry (see Appendix I.) will show that Cnut the Dane (*r.* 1017-1035) could only secure the mastery of the Saxon kingdom if he got rid of Eadmund Ironside (*r.* 23rd April to 30th November 1016) who was the true heir to the Saxon throne of England. Eadmund, who was the son of Aethelred (*r.* 978-1016), made a brave attempt to reign for a few months in spite of his Danish rivals, but a battle at Assandun went in favour of the Danes.[1] Eadmund's death or murder followed immediately after, and Cnut the Dane was left master of Saxon England. Eadmund Ironside himself had married a Dane—Ealdgyth, the widow of Sigeferth, the Danish chief. The Ironside left two sons, Eadmund and Eadward,

who at their father's death were evidently mere babes, and from the date of their mother's marriage must have been twins.[2] The common gossip of the time was, that Eadric, having murdered the King, who was his own uterine brother, now advised Cnut to murder the two infant heirs to the Saxon throne.[3] But Cnut shrank from committing this crime on English soil. By the advice of his wife Emma, he rather sought means of putting them out of the way in some foreign land.[4] Cnut's half-brother was Olaf, King of Sweden. To him he sent the two infants, with a request that they should be put to death. But Olaf of Sweden, who was himself a Christian, abhorred such a crime, and sent the two children to Stephen I., the saintly King of Hungary.[5] So, in Hungary, the Saxon princes Eadmund and Eadward Aetheling were cared for and brought up.

In Hungary, Eadmund seems to have died, for we hear no more of him. Here an interesting suggestion has been made by a Hungarian authority, Maurice Westner, who thinks that Eadmund married a daughter of the King, a princess whose name is unknown, and that both of them died before the year 1038.[6] In that year Stephen I. died. If any children had been born to them, the succession to the

Hungarian throne would have come rather from them than from the Venetian Orseolo family, which was not so nearly related to the King.[7]

But we know for certain that Eadward his brother lived at the Court of Stephen I. and Gisela his Queen. There he married a lady of royal descent called Agatha, probably a niece of the Hungarian Queen Gisela, and of her saintly brother, Emperor Henry II.[8]

There were three children of this marriage between Eadward Aetheling and Princess Agatha—Eadgar, Margaret, and Christina. Of the family life of these Aethelings in Hungary we know practically nothing. The information is very meagre, but such as it is, let it now be set down.

REFERENCES.

[1] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. i., chap. 2, p. 122.

[2] Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (3rd edition revised, 1877), vol. i., p. 413.

[3] *Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon* (Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, pp. 210-11): "(In the year 1017) the King of England, Eadmund Ironside, was killed by the treachery of the faithless Earl Eadric."

[4] Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, *a.* 1017.

[5] Florence of Worcester and Roger of Wendover call Stephen "Solomon." But Solomon began to reign in 1063, and Stephen I., the Saint, died in 1038. The probability, therefore, is that both names beginning with S, the one King was mistaken for the other. See also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, verse passage, *a.* 1057. Also

Ordericus Vitalis: *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), *a.* 1093, who calls Stephen "Solomon."

[6] William of Malmesbury tells us that the children reached Hungary, "ubi duru benigne aliquo tempore habiti sunt, major diem obiit"—*a.* 1016. Also Florence of Worcester says that one of them, namely Eadmund, "processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit." Although Florence of Worcester actually mentions Eadmund by name here, he gives us no idea as to the date of his death. It is merely, "in course of time he died there"—*a.* 1017.

[7] Maurice Westner, *The Genealogy of the Arpads*, 1892.

[8] William of Malmesbury makes Eadward marry a *sister* of the Queen, "Minor Agatham reginæ sororem in matrimonium accepit," *a.* 1016. Florence of Worcester says that Agatha was a daughter of a brother of Emperor Henry, that is, niece of Queen Gisela, who was Henry's sister—*a.* 1017. Ordericus Vitalis: *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), *a.* 1093, says also (but erroneously) that Agatha was Solomon's daughter. Solomon's date (1063) makes this impossible. Jordan's *Life of Abbot Waltheof*, 249, also says that Agatha was the daughter of Emperor Henry's brother. So the probability is that she was niece of Queen Gisela, wife of Stephen I.

CHAPTER II

THE AETHELINGS IN HUNGARY

The history of Hungary really begins with the appearance of the Magyars in Europe. They crossed the Carpathians about the year 889, under the leadership of Almos. At the death of Almos in 889, the chiefs of the tribes elected his son Arpad as his successor. Arpad's followers overran the whole of Hungary and conquered the inhabitants who lived beyond the ancient province of Pannonia. From the time of this conquest until the year 1000, Hungary was ruled by dukes, the regal title being first assumed by Vaik (Stephen). The accompanying table of this Arpad dynasty[1] will make it easier to understand the occasional reference to the Kings of Hungary. Vaik, afterwards called Stephen I., who had come into power first as an Arpad duke in 997, was the first to be crowned King in 1000, and was known ever afterwards in history as Stephen I. the Saint. He exerted a great Christian influence, and it is of the utmost significance that the exiled infant princes,

Eadmund and Eadward Aetheling, were sent to this saintly King for protection.

Hungary was a strongly Roman Catholic country, under the rule of the Arpad Kings, and the source of this religious influence was St Stephen I. His father Geyza introduced Christianity out of mere political motives, but Geyza himself remained a pagan. Stephen, however, was entirely under the influence of his clergy, who came partly from Italy and partly from Prague in Bohemia. Stephen's Queen, Gisela, was also under the influence of the Roman clergy. So the two exiled Aethelings were brought up under a very strong and definite Roman Rule. The religion of the Roman Church became the natural faith of Eadward's three children in the next generation —Eadgar, Margaret, and Christina. Here we touch the first vital source from which Queen Margaret drew her passionate attachment to the Roman Church.

But the case of the two English princes—Eadmund and Eadward Aetheling—is never mentioned in any existing chronicle of Hungarian history. Alb Castle has been located as the birthplace of Queen Margaret. But the expression Alb Castle only means the modern Székes-Fehér-Var, which is a term made up of the three Hungarian words *Capital—Alb—*

Castle. So the reference to Alb Castle can mean only that Queen Margaret was born at the Court of Stephen, whose centre was *de facto* Alb Castle. But the King moved about freely throughout the whole country and was always accompanied by his Court.

A modern historian in Hungary, however, gives us the following facts which are of great interest to us.[2] After mentioning what we have already stated—that Eadmund Aetheling married the daughter of St Stephen; that Edward his brother married the niece of Queen Gisela, the Princess Agatha who came of the dynasty of the Roman Teuton Emperors; and that Eadmund died very soon after his marriage, he adds that Eadward's three children were born at the Court of St Stephen, Eadgar the eldest (?), Margaret (born in 1046), and Christina, who entered the convent of "Rumesia"—that is Romsey—in 1086.[3]

The British princes stayed in Hungary for thirty-four years. St Stephen, who had cared for them like a father, gave them without doubt a land estate of their own. This can be traced in a historical document. The land estates of St Stephen were in Old Pannonia, the western part of the country which lies on the right side of the Danube. The centre of these land estates was Alb Castle. Somewhere, therefore,

in this country must have lain the estate of the exiled British princes, who had both become relatives by marriage of the King. Very likely they built a castle there. Of this conjecture we find an unquestionable proof in a donation document[4] of the King, Andrew II., dated 1235, which was issued on behalf of the Bishop of Pécs (*quinque ecclesiæ*). According to this document the boundary of the estate given to the Bishop runs just beside the estate of the Britons—*cum terris Brittanorum de Nadasth.* The document, containing this unique reference to the estate of the Britons, is in all probability the one and only historical reference that now exists in Hungary to the two Aethelings—Eadmund and Eadward.[5]

It is an easy matter now to identify the site of this castle of the Britons. The estate must have been in the County of Baranya, and in the countryside which lies in the neighbourhood of the present villages of Nádasd, Óbánya, Ujbánya, and just on the picturesque hillside which stretches towards another village called Máza.[6]

In the very centre of this ancient land estate of the Britons there are to be seen to-day the ruins of a castle on the top of a prominent hill beside the road leading westward from

Nádasd to Máza. The place is now covered with dense wood and bushes, but these imposing ruins have withstood the terrible onslaughts of nine centuries.

This very district of Hungary lay on the direct route of the Turkish invasions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as of the earlier Tartar invasions. There is, however, a living tradition to-day that in ancient times, many centuries ago, this castle belonged to a royal British family. It is, therefore, highly probable that here we have the original castle of the Aethelings, and the birthplace of Saint Margaret, the Queen of Scotland.

The great age of these ruins can be proved by the fact, that huge oak trees stand to-day *within* the walls of the castle. One of these oak trees was measured by the Roman Catholic priest of Nádasd, Valantine Vizér, in the year 1777. The circumference was then found to be six fathoms (36 feet) and the height thirteen fathoms (78 feet).

This castle of the Britons has given to the neighbouring villages the place names of Várallja and Várkony, the word *var* in Hungary meaning castle.

So, by piecing together these facts — this unique reference in a thirteenth century

document, *cum terris Brittanorum de Nadasth;* the geographical features of the place; and the surviving traditions—we can with comparative safety corroborate the conjecture that here we have found the actual birthplace of Queen Margaret of Scotland.[7]

The question most naturally arises at this point—Why is the case of the two English princes never mentioned in any Hungarian Chronicle? This question has been answered by another Hungarian authority,[8] who points out that the Mongolian Tartars invaded Hungary in the winter of 1271-1272 and devastated the whole country. Many of the old MSS. perished at this time of terrible destruction, and that is why so many important facts of early Hungarian history can only be known now from foreign sources.

REFERENCES.

[1] This table gives the dates of the rulers of the Arpad Dynasty which governed Hungary during the period we are dealing with:—

The Arpad Dynasty.

Arpad, the Conqueror . . .	889 (mythical)
Zoltan	907
Taksony	949
Geyza	972
Vaik (afterwards Stephen I.) . .	997

Kings.

Stephen I., the Saint	1000
Peter	1038
Aba Samu	1041
Peter (again)	1044
Andrew I.	1047
Bela I.	1061
Solomon	1063
Geyza I.	1074
Ladilaus I., the Saint	1077
Coloman, the Learned	1095

[2] Dr J. Rézbányay in an article on "St Margaret of Hungary, the Queen of Scotland" in the *Katholicus Szemle* (Review), vol. x., pp. 68-97 (Budapest, 1896). Maurice Westner (in *The Genealogy of the Arpads*, 1892) and J. Rézbányay (in "St Margaret of Hungary, the Queen of Scotland")—these two Hungarian authorities, whatever their sources of information may be, believe that Eadmund married a daughter of Stephen I. and Gisela.

[3] Dr J. Rézbányay, *ibid.*, vol. x., p. 72. *Cf.* Romsey or Ramsay in Hampshire. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E., *a.* 1085. Florence of Worcester, *a.* 1086. William of Malmesbury, *a.* 1065.

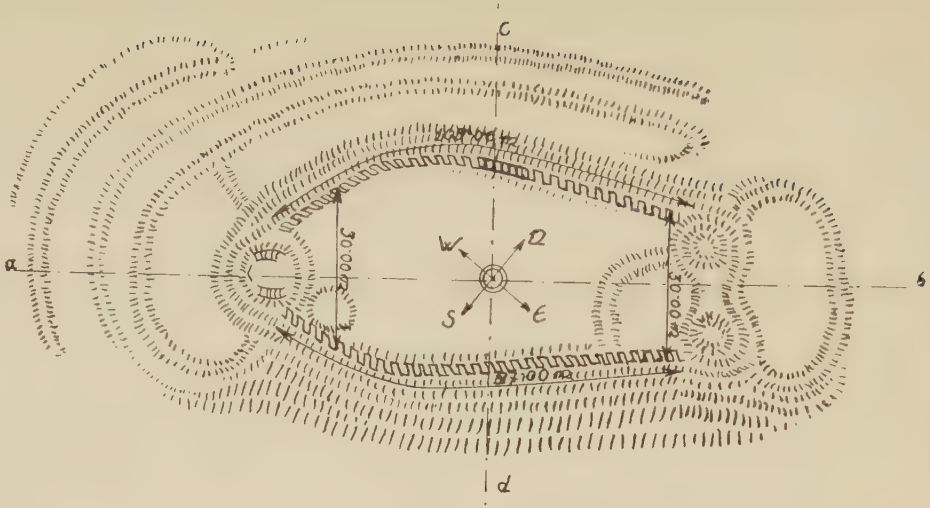
[4] This donation document is to be found in Georgius Fejer's *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariæ, Ecclesiasticus ac civitas.* Tom. tertius, vol. ii., pp. 421-39 (Budapest, 1829).

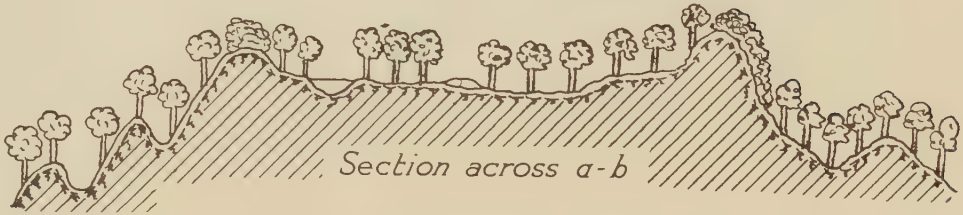
[5] Before 1235 there were not any other British—princes or nobles—known to be in Hungary. Reference for this statement, Dr L. Sulagyi, Budapest.

[6] Georgius Fejer, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariæ, Ecclesiasticus ac civitas.* Tom. tertius, vol. ii., p. 77. See also map of Hungary in Appendix.

[7] Both the leading Hungarian lexicons follow the data of Rézbányay in fixing the birthplace of Queen Margaret at Nádasd.

[8] Dr L. Sulagyi of Budapest.





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CHAPTER III

HUNGARY AS A CENTRE OF RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

HERE, then, Queen Margaret of Scotland was born and brought up. The King, Stephen I., was a devout Christian. Gisela, his wife, was the same. The whole country was strongly Roman Catholic under the Arpad Kings. Indeed the whole of Europe at that time[1] was overswept by the spirit of Monasticism which found its highest expression in St Bernard of Clairvaux.[2] There was a great influx of lay folk —both men and women—to the monasteries. Nobles, counts, barons, feudal lords and knights abandoned their castles and took the monastic vow. It was an age of great licentiousness, and the only refuge from the temptations of the time was to be found in the monk's cell. The women felt the same impulse as the men, and they too hastened to offer themselves as nuns. Widows and daughters of nobles as well as the womenfolk of labouring men renounced the world and all hope of marriage and submitted to the yoke of the religious Orders.[3] A contemporary tells us[4]

that to all these people the Suabian monasteries appeared like invincible asylums of peace, or perfumed meadows where the inhabitants intoxicated themselves with the sweet odours of a contemplative life.

Little wonder that these two young Aetheling princesses, Margaret and Christina, were infected in their earliest days by this passion for the monastic life. Christina did take the veil at Romsey[5] long afterwards (1086), where eventually she may have become Abbess. Margaret herself, doubtless, would have entered the cloister had her regal circumstances not made that impossible. But certainly in Hungary she became early enamoured of the Roman Church.

Hungary, indeed, has a unique record in history for religion. It was the youngest Christian kingdom,[6] and Stephen I., King and Saint, was renowned for his Catholic fervour. The holy crown of Hungary which was placed on his head in 1000 is the oldest jewelled crown in the Western World to-day. The upper half of it, which is Roman-Christian, was presented by Sylvester II.: the under half, which encircles the brow, was in a later century presented by a Byzantine Emperor out of gratitude because some of his subjects who were made prisoners of war were sent home from Hungary instead

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HUNGARIAN BANK NOTE, 1923.

Showing the Crown and Coronation Robe of King Stephen I.

[Face page 15.

of being slaughtered there. The Standard of Hungary from that time (1000 A.D.) to this day has borne on it the Holy Virgin and Child. Mary, as *patrona Hungariæ*, also wears the holy crown of Hungary which is always surmounted by the Cross. Even the Coronation Robe—still in existence—which was thrown round the shoulders of Stephen I. in 1000 was wrought by the hands of his Queen Gisela, the grand-aunt of Margaret of Scotland. The very stamps and banknotes of Hungary which are in use to-day (1926) have emblazoned on them the Holy Mother and Child, with the Cross, the Crown, and the sacred Robe. Such an unbroken record of official Christianity is unique. Is it wonderful, then, that 800 years ago the children of Eadward Aetheling, while living in Hungary, should have been cradled in the most zealous Roman Catholic tradition?[7]

REFERENCES.

[1] The time of St Gregory—eleventh century.

[2] St Bernard (1091-1153) lived to see his father, mother, sister, and all his five brothers in the cloister. See G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i., p. 288. Also *Life of St Bernard*, by Cotter Morison, pp. 13-15.

[3] Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. v., p. 344, etc. Also G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i., pp. 288-89.

[4] *Passio S. Tiernonis Episcop.*, ap. Gretzer vi., 482, and *Canisus Lect. Antiq.*, vol. iii.

[5] Romsey, in Hampshire, where in 910 Edward the Elder founded a Benedictine Nunnery. The foundations of this tenth-century church have been discovered beneath the floor of the present Norman Abbey. Seen by me, April 1925. Matilda and Mary, the daughters of Queen Margaret, were educated at Romsey under their aunt Christina. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1085. Florence of Worcester, *a.* 1086. *Annals of Waverley*, *a.* 1086. *Cf.* William of Malmesbury, *a.* 1065, "Christina who grew old (*consenuit*) at Romsey in the habit of a nun." There is no record of Christina being the Abbess of Romsey. For further authorities on Christina see A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 30. *Vid. sup.*, p. 7, note 1. See also *Records of Romsey Abbey* (907-1558), by H. G. D. Liveing, 1912.

[6] E. A. Freeman's *Norman Conquest of England*, vol. ii., pp. 375-76.

[7] For the details of the Roman Catholic tradition in Hungary, I am indebted to Rev. Alexis Máthe, Ph.D., Budapest, who has put me in touch with all the available Hungarian authorities, and has supplied me with the accompanying examples of notes and stamps, also a map showing the exact position of Alb Castle and Nádash.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF THE AETHELINGS TO ENGLAND

THE Aetheling family lived in Hungary until the year 1057. But before that date it is quite evident that Eadward the Confessor was turning his thoughts to Hungary for a possible heir. For, in 1054, a special mission under Bishop Ealred was sent to the Emperor Henry II. by the Saxon King. Henry, at that particular time, was living at Köln, and there he entertained Bishop Ealred for a whole year. The time was ill-chosen for any intervention at the Hungarian Court. War prevented Bishop Ealred from paying a personal visit to Hungary, and in the atmosphere of strife Henry himself probably felt that it would be impolitic to intervene. So the Saxon emissary, Bishop Ealred, after his prolonged stay at Köln, returned to England. His embassy, however, was evidently successful, for although Eadward Aetheling did not leave Hungary with his family until 1057, we know that in this same year the Aethelings actually arrived in England.[1]

But Eadward Aetheling never saw his uncle and namesake, King Eadward the Confessor, for almost immediately after arriving in London [2] the Aetheling died and was buried beside his grandfather, Aethelred, in St Paul's Minster. A sudden sickness or poison may have accounted for this calamity. Eadward was the direct heir to the Saxon throne. Now he was dead. The good Confessor had no children of his own. So his only hope lay in the children of his dead nephew, who with their mother Agatha were now living at his own Court in England. There, they must have spent the nine years which elapsed between their arrival in 1057 and the death of Eadward the Confessor in 1066.

Would that we could reconstruct these nine years about which all the Chronicles are so silent. They certainly must have been among the most formative years of Margaret's life, the years of her education and maidenhood, when the most lasting impressions were made on her mind. The religious training which she had already received in Hungary would be continued at the Court of the Confessor, which was intensely Catholic. Indeed, the King's greatest ambition was to raise a great church to St Peter, and the last years of his life were devoted to the founding and building

of Westminster Abbey[3] which is now, after 850 years, the holiest shrine of the crowned Kings of England.

It has been stated,[4] that during these years of her girlhood at the Confessor's Court Margaret was educated under the guidance of Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Turgot, a Benedictine monk, who afterwards accompanied her to Scotland as her chaplain and confessor.

But Lanfranc, that great scholar, statesman, and ecclesiastic, was Prior of the Monastery at Bec[5] from 1046, and in 1066 he became the Abbot of Caen.[6] He was only consecrated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1070, four years after the Conquest, on the deposition of Stigand.[7] In that year William summoned Lanfranc from Normandy. He was indeed the able seconder of William the Conqueror in England from the time of the Conquest, but although we have a letter which Lanfranc wrote to Margaret some years after, when she was Queen of Scotland,[8] it is difficult to understand how he could possibly have been her tutor between the years 1057 and 1066 if she was then resident at the Court in England.

Nor can we find evidence to support the fact that Turgot, the Benedictine monk, was ever Margaret's confessor or tutor during these

years at the Confessor's Court. Turgot[9] was Prior of Durham for five years previous to Margaret's death,[10] and he almost certainly wrote her "Life." But, while he writes from a certain amount of personal knowledge and gives particulars of an interview which he had with the Queen not long before her death, he was not present at her death and only gives an account of it from the narrative of a priest who attended her and afterwards became a monk of Durham. There is nothing in the "Life" to lead us to believe that Turgot conversed with her in any but a friendly way, unless it be his remark, that he had "known her conscience by her own revealing," and that she deigned to speak to him "most intimately" and "to expose her secret thoughts."[11] His work at Durham is inconsistent with the idea that he was her confessor. During one visit he paid to Scotland with Aldwine, his predecessor in the Priorate of Durham, both were driven from Melrose by the persecution of Malcolm. This very persecution may point to the fact that the King thought the Durham monk was gaining too great an ascendancy in the confessional over the mind of his Queen. It is, however, unlikely that Turgot was ever Margaret's guest for very long in these after years, and no mention whatever is made by the con-

temporary historian at Durham of Turgot's being confessor to Margaret or of his visits to the Scots Court. Whoever her tutors and confessors may have been at the Saxon Court between 1057 and 1066, they would certainly be devout priests after the heart of Eadward the Confessor, so that when the time for her marriage with Malcolm Canmore came, Margaret would ascend the throne of Scotland doubly inclined to the Roman Church because of her upbringing in childhood at the Court of Hungary and of the years of her maidenhood which were spent at the Court of England.[12]

Margaret Aetheling may even have met Malcolm Canmore for the first time at the Confessor's Court.[13] For that rough Scots prince spent fourteen years at the Confessor's Court, going there in 1042 and leaving it in 1057, the very year of Margaret's arrival.[14] Otherwise, it is all conjecture, and we must imagine for ourselves the life, the education, and the religious exercises of Margaret Aetheling during these nine years at Eadward the Confessor's Court.

But these years of happy devotion came to an end in 1066, when Duke William of Normandy came over to England. On the Confessor's death, Harold II. had ascended the throne. He had previously sworn a forced

allegiance to Duke William, but he appears to have gone back on his word.[15] William met him at the Battle of Senlac,[16] near Hastings, on 14th October 1066, and by Harold's death on the field the throne of the Aethelings became free to William the Conqueror. William indeed claimed the right of presenting himself for election by the nation to the throne, believing that he had the direct commendation of Eadward the Confessor. Young Eadgar Aetheling, the now dispossessed heir, himself headed the deputation[17] that came to offer the Crown to the Norman Duke, and the Crown itself was handed to William at Westminster by Archbishop Aeldred amid the shouts of "Yea, Yea!" from his new subjects.[18]

REFERENCES.

[1] E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest of England*, vol. ii., p. 668, Note GG. *Abingdon Chronicle*, *a.* 1054. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1056. Florence of Worcester, *a.* 1057.

[2] Florence of Worcester, "ex quo venit parvo post tempore vita decessit Londiniæ," *a.* 1057. Also *Chronicle of Peterborough*, *a.* 1057.

[3] Westminster was commenced about 1055 and consecrated on 28th December 1065. See *Westminster Abbey*, by Francis Bond, chap. ii., p. 8.

[4] MacEwen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 155.

[5] *Encyclopædia Brittanica*, "Lanfranc," vol. xiv., p. 283. Ordericus Vitalis: *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), vol. i., p. 383, note (Bohn).

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 466.

[7] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. i., p. 158. A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Sources*, *a.* 1077, note. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1077, "In Lanfranc's seventh year of office."

[8] Lanfranc's "Letter to Queen Margaret." A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 31.

[9] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. ii., pt. 1, p. 174, Appendix A. Turgot, a Saxon by birth and Prior of Durham. Elected 20th June 1107, consecrated 1st August 1109 at York, with reservation of the rites to either see as "Bishop of St Andrews" (the delay being mainly due to disputes between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York), died 1115.

[10] *Ibid.* In 1087. Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 155, note 2. A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Sources*, p. 97. Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. i., p. 127.

(Dates = Turgot :

Prior of Durham	in 1087
Archdeacon of Durham	in 1093
Elected Bishop of St Andrews . . .	in 1107
Consecrated Bishop of St Andrews . .	in 1109)

[11] See "Vita," chap. 9.

[12] *Surtees Society*, vol. li., preface.

[13] See Palgrave's *History of England and Normandy*, vol. iv., p. 311. "Malcolm grew up into manhood under the Confessor's benign protection, his benefactor and his suzerain, standing before the Confessor's throne, consorting with the Confessor's knights, sitting at the Confessor's table."

[14] Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, pp. 25-26. "Vita St Margaritæ," *Surtees Society*, vol. li., chap. viii. p. 243). Fordun's *Chronicle*, Bk. IV., chaps. xlv., xlvii.; Bk. V., chap. xiv. "Malcolm Canmore went to England in the first year of the same King Edward" (Fordun, Bk. IV., chap. xlvii.). "Malcolm abode in England about fourteen years" (Fordun, Bk. IV., chap. xlv.). "He had learnt the English and the

Roman tongues fully as well as his own, when, after his father's death, he had remained fifteen years in England" (Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xiv.).

[15] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. i., p. 144. "Harold was thrown on the French coast by a storm, and William forced him to swear on the relics of Saints to support the Norman claim as the price of his own return to England." See also Ordericus Vitalis, *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), vol. i., *a.* 1066, and Roger of Wendover, *a.* 1066.

[16] "Senlac," a spur of the Sussex Downs near Hastings. Fordun's *Chronicle*, Bk. V., chap. 12, 14th October 1066. Roger of Wendover, *a.* 14th October 1066. Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., p. 181, s. 150—22nd October 1066. A week wrong—but probably named the day the news was received in North of England.

[17] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1066.

[18] Green, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. i., pp. 149-50. "Duke William appeared at the English Court (in 1051) and received, as he afterwards asserted, a promise of succession to the throne from the King." (But the succession of William is one of the most obscure points in English History.)

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TIZEZER KORONA.
EZ AZ ÁLLAMJEGY A MELY MAGYARORSZÁG FÜGGŐ ADÓSSÁGÁNAK RÉSZE. A TÖRVÉNY HATÁROZATAIHOZ KÉPEST MINDENKI ÁLTAL VALAMINT MINDEN KÖZPÉNZTÁRNÁL FIZETÉSKÉP TELJES NÉVÉRTÉKBEN ELFOGADANDÓ.
BUDAPEST, 1923. ÉVI JULIUS HÓ 1-ÉN.
PÉNZÜGYMINISTER
AZ ÁLLAMJEGYEK UTÁNZÁSA A TÖRVÉNY SZERINT BÜNTETTETIK
PATRONA HUNGARIAE

HUNGARIAN BANK NOTE, 1923.

Showing the Virgin wearing the Crown of Hungary.

[*Face page* 24.

CHAPTER V

THE FLIGHT OF THE AETHELINGS TO SCOTLAND

ALTHOUGH William the Norman had ascended the throne of Saxon England as King, he had yet to prove his claim to the title of Conqueror. The north and west of England still held out against him.

Moreover, Malcolm had returned to Scotland, where, on the death of Lulach the Simple at Strathbogie, he was crowned at Scone on 25th April 1058, as Malcolm III., or *Ceann-mor*, the Great Head—King of Scots.[1] After his long residence at the Court in England, Malcolm fully realised that if England became one united kingdom as far north as the Tweed, the country of the Scots would be in a precarious plight. So Malcolm's only hope was that William would be harassed by the people of the north and west, who were by no means favourable to him.

The signal for revolt was given by Swein, King of Denmark, who suddenly appeared with a fleet at the mouth of the Humber in 1068. William at the time was hunting in the Forest

of Dean. There he heard for the first time of the loss of York and the slaughter of 3000 Normans who formed its garrison.[2] Eadgar Aetheling, with Waltheof, Siward, and other powerful English lords, had joined the Danes. The Aetheling had evidently recruited a following of his own loyal Saxons, who no doubt resented William's usurpation of the throne.[3]

Malcolm himself had made an alliance with the Danes, for not long before this he had married Ingibiorg, the daughter of Finn, and the widow of Thorfinn Sigurdson, Earl of Orkney.[4] So the whole north and west were now in revolt, and William, the Norman King, proceeded straightway to show that he was also the Norman Conqueror.

He first bought off the Danish fleet with a heavy bribe. Then, by a series of victories he subdued the English revolutionaries and so became master of the whole kingdom. This, naturally, sent many of the fugitives over the Scots Border for safety. Malcolm was friendly to them simply because they were enemies of the Conqueror. Indeed, he himself had just been on the point of sending an expedition to support the English against William, but the sudden development of events made that impossible.[5] Here Malcolm displayed a shrewd caution, but it must have

been sheer necessity that made him hold his hand, for he was a life-long harrier of the English.[6]

The year 1068, therefore, must have been a year of great upheavals. First came the naval demonstration of the Danes; then the general revolution; the feeble attempt of Eadgar Aetheling to join the revolutionaries, Malcolm's reluctant submission to William[7] who won victory after victory, and the first visit of Eadgar Aetheling and his family to Scotland.[8]

The one fact, however, which the year 1068 established was, that the Norman Duke was a Conqueror as well as a King. We find a quaint commentary upon Malcolm's temporary submission to William in the words of the old chronicler who puts it thus:—"He consulted his own interest and greatly pleased his own people in that he preferred peace to war. For the Scottish nation, although harsh in battle, yet loves ease and quiet, wishes not to be disturbed by neighbouring kingdoms, being intent on the study of the Christian religion rather than of arms."[9]

This may have been the chronicler's pious opinion, but all the evidence goes to show that Malcolm was an inveterate fighter, as indeed all kings and rulers had to be in those

barbarous times if they wished to preserve their kingdoms or their lives.

The truce thus arranged was to be short lived, and the final settlement of Margaret Aetheling in Scotland has a strongly ironical aspect. We are left to infer from the somewhat vague statements of the chroniclers that the Aethelings must have returned again to England after their first flight to Scotland. But certain it is that when this fairest of Saxon women with the saintly soul was driven by stress of circumstances, and after months of weary wanderings, to turn her face northwards, she came upon her future husband burning the towns and killing the inhabitants of the Northumbrian lands. Her own family was suspected by the Conqueror, for the very presence of Eadgar Aetheling, despite his weak character, was a continual menace to the Norman dynasty. Hence the necessity for the Aetheling family leaving the country. William, on the one hand, was incensed at them, and Malcolm, on the other, was more than willing to get a chance of annoying William,[10] so he raided Northumberland.

The authorities are not all clear as to what exactly happened previous to this northward flight; nor do they all agree as to the year of Margaret's marriage to Malcolm; but the

sequence of events seems to have been as follows.

Flight from England being agreed upon, the Aethelings and many of the Northern nobles took ship for a voyage. Ethelwin, the Bishop of Durham, for example, set sail and evidently meant to make for Cologne.[11] But a storm arose and drove his ship northwards. Several other ships were driven northwards, and had taken shelter in Wearmouth harbour. On these ships were Eadgar Aetheling, his mother Agatha, his two sisters Margaret and Christina, Siward Barn, Mærleswegen, Alfwin, and many other nobles. The Aethelings had evidently some intention of returning to Hungary, their old homeland; for another chronicler[12] tells us that Eadgar endeavoured to return to the land in which he had been born; but the same storm that drove the Bishop of Durham north also drove the Aethelings and the other nobles north. Thus fate cast Margaret's lot in Scotland and not in Hungary.

It was at Wearmouth that they found Malcolm Canmore directing a furious raid on Northumberland. The Scots King, who had already been the host of some of these Saxon refugees, was now burning and harrying their own land. But refugees cannot always choose their own asylum. Symeon of Durham, to

whom we owe the account of this terrible raid, could not be expected to record its history with an impartial hand, so far as Malcolm was concerned. But there is no reason to doubt the general trend of the Durham historian's words. He tells us that Malcolm with an endless host came from Scotland, passed through Cumberland, turned east, and then harried the whole of Teesdale. He had some reason for this furious reprisal. For William's Earl in Northumberland, Gospatric, had invaded Malcolm's Cumbrian province, wasted the whole district, and taken his spoil to Bamburgh Castle.[18] It was more than the rude King of Scots could stand: so he determined to punish Northumberland.

When he reached Wearmouth, he stood watching the flames consuming St Peter's Church. He had already burned other churches, with all who took refuge in them. Malcolm was a master raider, and the Durham chronicler doubtless spoke the truth when he said that he outdid all the deeds of war which either William or Gospatric had done. The English were not spared. Old men and women were slaughtered like oxen for a banquet. Babes were tossed high in the air and caught on the points of the soldiers' spears. Young men and women were driven

to Scotland, fettered as slaves. When some of these slave girls sank on the ground with fatigue they were allowed to die where they fell. Malcolm showed no pity.

When, however, it was announced to him that Eadgar Aetheling and his family, with many other nobles, had come to shore in Wearmouth harbour, he spoke kindly to them, granted his peace to them,[14] and gave them permission to dwell as long as they pleased in his realm. But when the exiles had sailed again for Scotland, Malcolm evidently went on with his raiding and burning.[15] The result was that Scotland was filled with slaves and handmaidens of the English race, so that there was not a hamlet or a hut in Scotland which did not hold some English prisoners.[16]

After this desperate raid, Malcolm made his way home, and there he found the Aethelings at his Court, with the other noble refugees. To many of these nobles and thanes, Archill of Northumberland, Mærleswegen, Siward Barn, and Alfwin, Malcolm granted landed estates.[17] Some of these may have come with the Aethelings from Hungary, for the Leslies are specially mentioned by a Hungarian authority to-day.[18]

But what dreams of horror the sights of Wearmouth must have given to the fair

Margaret Aetheling, and how terrible must have seemed Malcolm Canmore in her holy eyes!

REFERENCES.

[1] *Marianus Scotus*, p. 65, *a.* 1057. *Annals of Tighernac*, p. 78 *a.* 1057. *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, p. 152. *Ibid.* (B), p. 175, No. 18. *Annals of Ulster*, p. 369, *a.* 1058. Wyntoun *Chronicle*, II., p. 141, Bk. VI., chap. 19, l. 2303—

> "Lulawch—Fule ras, and he
> As Kyng regnyd monethis thre.
> This Malcolme gert sla hym syne
> Wyth-in the land off Straybolgyne."

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), vol. ii., Bk. IV., chap. 5, *a.* 1068. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, vol. i., p. 152.

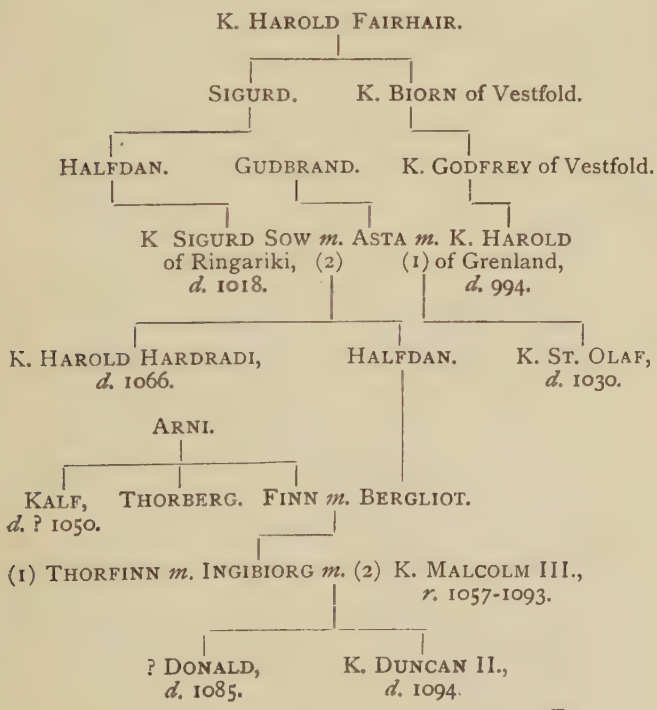
[3] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historica Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of Normandy and England*), vol. ii., Bk. IV., chap. 5, *a.* 1068.

[4] A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., pp. 25-26, note 2. Also Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. iv., Note BB in Appendix, p. 784. Freeman notes death of Thorfinn in 1064; Malcolm could not marry his widow before 1064. So Ingibiorg must have been disposed of between 1064 and 1068, and disposed of in such a way (death?) that a saintly woman like Margaret Aetheling could take her place. The legitimacy of this marriage has been doubted and the older chroniclers called Duncan *nothus*, a bastard. The authority of the *Orkneyinga Saga* as to the marriage of Malcolm and Ingibiorg has also been doubted, for Ingibiorg was old enough to be Malcolm's mother, being an elderly lady when her husband Earl Thorfinn died, about 1064. Even if she did marry Malcolm, it is by no means certain that she bore him a son. Torphæus, the first Icelander to make known the historical value of the *Sagas* (*d.* 1719), relying on the *Orkneyinga Saga*, simply stated that Malcolm Canmore had married Ingibiorg and that Duncan was the son of

this marriage, and thus later historians began to believe that Duncan was legitimate. See Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 271, note. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regnum*, vol. ii., p. 476), the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* (1093-94), and Fordun (vol. v., p. 24) call Malcolm's son Duncan illegitimate, implying that the marriage of Malcolm with Ingibiorg was irregular—but there is no proof of this. It is interesting in this connection to compare the reluctance which Margaret at first displayed to a proposal of marriage with Malcolm.

TABLE SHOWING RELATIONS OF INGIBIORG

(From A. O. Anderson's *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 26, note.)



[5] Ordericus Vitalis (*a.* 1068), vol. iv., p. 5. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxviii., col. 314-15.

[6] He made, in all, five raids on England between the years 1061-1093. See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, pp. 27-30, for dates of the raids—first raid, 1061 ; second, 1069-1070 ; third, 1079 ; fourth, 1091 ; fifth, 1093.

[7] See Benoit de Sainte Maure, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, vol. iii., p. 251 : "The King (Malcolm) dared not resist." Also Ordericus Vitalis, vol. iv., p. 5. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxviii., col. 314-15.

[8] Eadgar had probably taken refuge first in Scotland in 1068, passing the winter there (1068-1069) along with his mother and sisters, with Mærleswegen and other English nobles. For this see Florence of Worcester, *a.* 1068. A. O. Anderson, *Annals of Scottish History from English Sources*, p. 88. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1067.

[9] Ordericus Vitalis, vol. iv., p. 5. In Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxviii., col. 314-15, *a.* 1068.

[10] William of Malmesbury, Bk. III., *a.* 1068. "Malcolm willingly received all the English fugitives . . . but more especially Eadgar . . . on his behalf he burnt and plundered the adjacent provinces of England . . . merely to distress the mind of William, who was indignant that his lands were open to Scottish raids."

[11] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., pp. 190-92. Also Roger of Hoveden, vol. i., pp. 120-22, *a.* 1070.

[12] Ailred of Rievaulx, *Epistola in Twysden*, p. 367. "Eadgar Aetheling, seeing the affairs of England disturbed on every side, went on board ship with his mother and sisters, and endeavoured to return to the land (of Hungary) in which he had been born. But a storm arose at sea and he was compelled to land in Scotland."

[13] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., pp. 190-92.

[14] *Chronicle of Melrose*, *a.* 1070. "Granted his peace to the Prince Eadgar and his sisters Margaret and Christina, whom he found there fleeing from the King of England, and (intending) to go to Scotland, and afterwards he united Margaret to himself in marriage."

[15] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., pp. 190-92.

[16] Symeon of Durham. See *Surtees Society*, vol. li., p. 88. This statement on the face of it seems to be rather sweeping. But Malcolm was not a *persona grata* with Symeon.

[17] Palgrave, *History of England and Normandy*, vol. iv., p. 335. Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 7-8. "The new colonists were . . . men of the sword, above all servile and mechanical employment. They were fit for the society of a Court and many became the chosen companions of our princes" (Cosmo Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scoticæ*, vol. i., preface, p. xxv.). Also : "The names of the witnesses to the charters of David I. and his brothers would prove this without other evidence. It is astonishing with what rapidity those southern colonists spread even to the far north. From Tweed and Solway to Sutherland the whole arable land may be said to have been held by them. The great old houses of Athol, Lennox, and Stratherne were within the fastnesses of the highlands. Angus soon came into the Umphravils through marriage. But of the race of the English colonists came Bruce, Balliol, Biset, Berkeley, Colville, Cumin, Douglas, Dunbar—descended of Northumbrian princes, long themselves princes in the Merse—Fleming, Fraser, Gordon, Hamilton, Lindsay, Maule, Maxwell, Morevil, Moubray, De Quinci, Ruthven, Stewart, Sinclair, Somerville, Soulis, Valoines, Wallace, and many other names, not less powerful, though less remembered" (Cosmo Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scoticæ*, vol. i., preface, p. xxvi.). See also Mackinnon, *Constitutional History of Scotland*, pp. 82-83.

[18] "With them (the Aethelings) went (to England) Bartolomeo Leleszi who was the founder of the famous Scots family of Leslie." See Dr J. Rézbányay in *Katholicus Szemle* (Review), vol. x., pp. 68-97 (Budapest, 1896).

CHAPTER VI

MARGARET'S MARRIAGE TO MALCOLM III.

SHORTLY after Margaret's arrival in Scotland, the King of Scots began to yearn after her, and soon he proposed to make her his wife. It is quite clear that both Eadgar and Margaret were opposed to the idea. Even some of Eadgar's men were averse to the marriage. Margaret herself, as we can very well understand, was inclined to the life of the cloister. Her whole heart was towards a religious life. What she had seen of Malcolm's rough raiding in Northumberland would not incline this gentle soul of faith and piety to join her fortunes to the King of Scots. As we have already seen, her sister became a nun at Romsey in 1086 and grew old in the life of the cloister.

Eadgar's protests, however, were futile, and Margaret's preference for the life of a *religieuse* was finally overcome. Indeed the Aethelings had little or no choice, for they lived in rough times, and the King of Scots, who kept urging his suit, had the exiles entirely

SAXON ROOD IN ROMSEY ABBEY. Date *c.* 1030.

It was there in the time of Christina, Queen Margaret's sister, under whose care her nieces, Matilda and Mary, were educated at the convent school.

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in his power.[1] So the marriage was agreed upon.

To those who maintain that Margaret was an ambitious woman, and that she herself saw some political advantage in such a wedding, it need only be said in reply that, in estimating any character the predominating feature must determine our opinion as to the motives of particular acts; and it is against all that we know of Margaret's character to suggest that she had any political motive in giving her consent. Malcolm, however, may very well have had such a motive in uniting himself to one who was so illustriously descended from the whole line of Saxon Kings in England and whose mother was a Bavarian princess. Indeed, an old chronicler, who was born a Saxon and lived all his life in Normandy, implies that the union had been arranged between Malcolm and Eadward the Confessor. Malcolm confesses as much, when he says to Duke Robert of Normandy, "I am willing to confess that when King Eadward gave me his niece (grand-niece) Margaret in marriage he conferred on me the County of Lothian."[2] Be that as it may, the marriage did take place sometime between the years 1068 and 1070.[3] The exact date cannot be fixed. But Malcolm was married to Margaret at

Dunfermline by Fothad, the Celtic Bishop of St Andrews.

> "Of Saynt Andrewys the byschape then
> The secund Fothawch, a cunnand man,
> Devotly mad that Sacrament
> That thai than tuk in gud intent."[4]

Malcolm was born probably in 1031,[5] which would make him 38 at the time of his marriage, if the marriage took place in 1069. Margaret's age cannot be fixed with certainty, but if she was only 10 years of age when she arrived in England[6] in the year 1057, she would be 22 years of age in 1069. So we may take it that the King of Scots was a man of 38 and the princess a fair young girl of 22, or more, when the marriage took place in Dunfermline.

If this pious princess turned reluctantly from a desire for the life of the cloister to the harder task of living as the Queen of Malcolm III., at least she was taking a step that was to prove of the utmost importance both to Scotland and England. Not only did the Saxon line of Kings and the Scots line of Kings unite through her, but the kingly blood of both passed into the veins of the descendants of William the Norman Conqueror, for Matilda the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret was yet to marry Henry I. of England.

We may picture the scene of Margaret's arrival in the Firth of Forth. The little fleet of ships that drew into the bay, which was to be known ever afterwards as St Margaret's Hope, must have caused great stir among the rude inhabitants of Malcolm's kingdom. All weather-foul and tattered, because of the recent gales, they would probably be the largest ships that had ever been seen in these waters. When the royal company landed on the shores of Fife, Malcolm's subjects must have looked in wonder at the beauty of the Saxon princesses. Agatha the royal mother, the two Princesses Margaret and Christina, with Prince Eadgar Aetheling himself, would be the first to step on to the golden fringe of Fife. They would be followed by Siward Barn, Mærleswegen, Alfwin and many other English thanes who had lost their castles[7] and were afraid of the Norman Duke's vengeance.

We can also imagine the great throng that would afterwards attend the wedding ceremony which took place at Malcolm's Court. He had built himself a strong tower on an isolated mound. This mound was surrounded on three sides by a deep ravine through which a stream flowed, making a natural linn. Thus the royal fortress above the linn was called Dunfermline.[8] To this rude palace, and afterwards to the royal

fortress on the Rock at Edinburgh, Queen Margaret was yet to bring great culture and the influence of the religious life of Rome. Indeed, the Durham chronicler, who had every reason to hate Malcolm for his terrific raids into Northumberland, puts the whole after-life of Queen Margaret in a sentence when he says—"And this Eadgar's sister, Margaret, was married to King Malcolm, with the consent of her kindred: she was not only a woman of royal descent, but was most noble in her prudence and religion. Influenced by her zeal and industry, the King laid aside his barbarity of manners, and became more honourable and refined."[9]

It must have been some years after her marriage[10] that Margaret wrote a letter to Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc's reply[11] makes very clear that Margaret was considered to be almost a medium of God. The correspondence had very evidently to do with the spread of the Roman Faith in Scotland, and the object of both Archbishop and Queen probably was the suppression of those monasteries that did not altogether conform to the Roman Rule. Indeed, monks who had adopted the customs of the *Keledei* or Culdees were at this time the only favoured remnant of the Columban

Church in Scotland.[12] Goldwine and the other two emissaries mentioned in this letter were evidently missionaries of the Roman Faith or perhaps ecclesiastical architects sent from Canterbury at the Queen's request. But while the great Lanfranc exalts Margaret and debases himself in this letter, he appreciates the fact that Margaret had appealed to him as her religious superior. Lanfranc claimed for the See of Canterbury the superiority over all the churches in Britain.[13] Whatever the exact date of this letter from Lanfranc may be, it makes us realise that Margaret very soon after her marriage is setting about a movement to Romanise and Anglicise the ancient Celtic Church in Scotland. In this sense Lanfranc's letter indicates that the great vocation of the Queen's religious life in Scotland had already been determined.[14]

REFERENCES.

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1070.

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *a.* 1091.

[3] The authorities differ as to date: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1067; *Chronicle of Melrose* (Interpolation) *a.* 1067; Henry of Huntingdon, *a.* 1067; Wyntoun, *a.* 1067; *Book of Pluscarden*, *a.* 1067; Florence of Worcester, *a.* 1068; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, *a.* 1070; Roger of Hoveden, *a.* 1070; Fordun, *a.* 1070. See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 27, note 17.

[4] Wyntoun, Bk. VII., chap. 3.

[5] Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 25, note 3.

[6] Dr Joseph Rézbányay, a Hungarian authority, in his article on "Saint Margaret of Hungary, the Queen of Scotland," in *Katholicus Szemle*, vol. x., pp. 68-97 (Budapest, 1896), states (on what authority I know not): "So Edward started with his wife Agatha and his children Edgar, Margaret (who might be ten years old at the time), and Christina, and returned to England." So the following dates may be set down :—

1057	The Aethelings came to England. Margaret aged about 10.
1057-1066	Nine years spent at the Court of Edward the Confessor, where Margaret probably met Malcolm.
1066	Aethelings flee from Saxon Court at William's Conquest. Margaret aged about 19.
1066-1068	Aethelings wander in England and Scotland seeking refuge.
1069	Margaret returns to Scotland (second visit) and marries Malcolm. Margaret aged about 22.

[7] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., pp. 190-92, *a.* 1070. *Cf.* Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, vol. ii., p. 2, *a.* 1068.

[8] See Mackay's *History of Fife and Kinross*, p. 23.

[9] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, vol. ii., p. 192, *a.* 1070.

[10] 1070-1089. See A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 32, note. Lanfranc was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. See Ordericus Vitalis, *a.* 1070.

[11] Lanfranc's "Letter to Margaret" in Stevenson's *Scalacronica of Sir Thos. Gray*, pp. 222-23. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. ii., p. 155-56. A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 31.

[12] A. O. Anderson, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 32, Note on Adam of Bremen.

[13] Ordericus Vitalis, *a.* 1070.

[14] For Lanfranc's "Letter," see Appendix II. *Cf.* On the Building of Queen Margaret's Chapel, Chap. X. of this work.

CHAPTER VII

THE "LIFE" OF QUEEN MARGARET AND ITS AUTHOR, TURGOT

To this remarkable woman Scotland owed much of its early culture, commerce, and art. It is true that the Columban monks had long ago brought both art and culture to Scotland. Wherever their primitive monasteries were planted, whether on the islands or on the mainland, they produced wonderful manuscripts of Scripture, two of which, "The Book of Kells" and "The Lindisfarne Gospels," still exist, to set before the art student of to-day the very highest standard of Celtic design and illuminated work.[1] If the Columban monks could produce such work centuries before Queen Margaret's time, without doubt they must have introduced both art and culture in other ways into Scotland.

But let us now turn to our only authentic source of information for some definite account of Queen Margaret's influence on the religion of Scotland—the *Life of Queen Margaret* by Turgot, who was the Prior of Durham and

afterwards Bishop of St Andrews. Next in order to the four earliest sources of ecclesiastical history in Britain, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, St Adamnan's *Life of St Columba*, the *Pictish Chronicle*, and the *Book of Deer*, comes Turgot's *Vita S. Margaritae.* Margaret was indeed fortunate in her biographer.

Doubtless Turgot, when he undertook to write the Queen's life, did not feel himself at liberty to suggest any faults in her saintly character, and the biography, for that reason, may have been written with the deliberate intention of surrounding the Queen's person with an unbroken halo of holiness. Early lives of the saints were never written from a critical standpoint. But there is no real ground for suggesting that Margaret was "an ambitious woman,"[2] nor that she waged "a merciless and gradually successful warfare" against the Gaelic language and the Celtic Church.[3] It is true that she was a thorough Saxon, that her mother was a Bavarian princess, that every one of her six sons bore a Saxon name, and that she devoted her life to imposing the Roman Rule on the Celtic Church. But the broad fact remains, that her whole career and influence are unintelligible to us to-day if her sincerity and piety are challenged.[4] The facts related in the Queen's

biography are so circumstantial that there is no reason for doubting them. The outstanding fact remains, that this Saxon princess, who married Malcolm III., the rude King of Scots, succeeded in introducing not merely precious dishes of gold and silver, ideals of dress, and pious books, but with them a general Saxon culture and refinement. She did this, moreover, in a way and to a degree that was resented by the Scots immediately after her death.[5]

Doubtless it was in the interests of Malcolm to form an alliance with the royal Saxon house of England. But, if we keep the balance of a just judgment, we can neither doubt the Queen's sincerity nor can we overlook the historic fact that the whole tendency of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was for European forms of culture and religion to spread northwards. Queen Margaret was only the chief means of bringing this renascence of life and religion to Scotland; if she had not done it, doubtless some one else would; for, as we have already said, this northward spread of monastic life and culture was inevitable.

Her "Life" was written by Turgot for Matilda, Margaret's own daughter, whom he calls most flatteringly the Queen of the Angles by the King of the Angels, a clear indication

of the writer's standpoint towards his royal instructress, for the "*Vita*"[6] was written after the marriage of Matilda to Henry I. of England.[7]

Turgot's name is not actually mentioned in the "Life." The author is only referred to by the letter T, and Papebroch, the Jesuit, who edited the *Life of Queen Margaret*, which was published by the Bollandists, maintained that it was written by a monk of Durham called Theoderic. But in the list of monks at Durham, the only Theoderic mentioned stands 131st in the order of election,[8] and there is no reason why any of the other six monks whose names also begin with T should not have been selected on that ground as the author of the "*Vita*." If Theoderic was the author, and also the friend and confidant of the Queen of Henry I., his position as 131st on the roll of Durham could only be reconciled by supposing that he entered the monastery in extreme old age.[9]

On the other hand, we know that Turgot was 6th on the list; that he was Prior of Durham for five years previous to Queen Margaret's death, and might very well have been her friend and confidant; that he was a Saxon by birth; that he was elected Bishop of St Andrews in 1107 and consecrated in 1109 at York, with reservation of the rights

of either See, the delay being due to disputes between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; and that he died in 1115[10].

Now Turgot is twice described by Fordoun as the author of the "Life."[11] The assertion is supported both by internal evidence and by dates. The author obviously writes from a certain amount of personal knowledge. He gives particulars of an interview he had with the Queen. The account of her death he got from a priest who attended her last hours, and who afterwards became a Durham monk. The fact that the book was written for Queen Margaret's daughter Matilda *after* she became Queen of England proves that it must have been written subsequent to 1100. And the further fact that mention is made in the "Life" of Margaret's son Eadgar as still holding the Government after his father[12] proves that it was written prior to 1107, for Eadgar reigned from 1097 to 1107. The "Life" was therefore written between 1100 and 1107, within the lifetime of Turgot, and thus there is a strong case for assuming that he was the author.

It is hardly an argument to suggest[13] that the names Turgot and Theoderic are one and the same, for Theodericus is a name totally different from Turgot or *Thurgot*, which is a purely Danish name.[14]

Turgot may not have known Queen Margaret as intimately as a regular confessor naturally would, and yet he had charge of the gold altar vessels in the noble church of the Trinity which the Queen had built at Dunfermline.[15] It is not, however, likely that Turgot was a very welcome guest of King Malcolm, for, as we have already seen, Malcolm on one occasion drove both Turgot and Aldwine, his predecessor in the Priorate of Durham, out of Melrose. If he ever visited the Scots Court or was confessor to the Queen, it is strange that neither fact should be recorded by Symeon of Durham.[16]

Only one copy of the MS. of this remarkable "Life" exists in the Kingdom, a folio in vellum in the British Museum.[17] As it has been shrunk by water as well as blackened by fire in certain places, the writing in these parts is not so easily read. Yet it is still legible. For when vellum has been wet, it shrinks in such a way that the individual letters of the words shrink uniformly in size; so when half a sentence only has been wet and burned, as in this MS., the blackened, shrunken half of the sentence shows its lettering reduced to about half the size of the lettering in the undamaged half of the sentence.[18]

Thus the MS. of the "*Vita*" may be read

from beginning to end. It is the one authentic Life of the Queen, and was written by a monk who was a contemporary, a friend, and a father in Christ of the royal saint. Turgot has thus for ever lifted Queen Margaret above every other woman in ancient Scots history. After St Columba, whose life was written by Adamnan the 9th Abbot of Iona, Queen Margaret is the first royal lady whose daily life we know through an existing manuscript.

The portrait drawn of her is certainly a flattering one. Her biographer was doubtless prejudiced in her favour. He does not admit a single fault in her character. But there is such an abundance of actual facts related that we can scarcely doubt that Queen Margaret was a remarkably able and saintly woman.

REFERENCES.

[1] (1) The *Book of Kells* in Trinity College, Dublin; a seventh or eighth century MS. See *Book of Kells*, by Sir Edward Sullivan, 1914; also *Celtic Ornaments from the Book of Kells*, by T. K. Abbott, 1895. (2) The *Lindisfarne Gospels* in the British Museum (Cotton MS., Nero D. IV.) executed by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne (698-721). See the beautiful reproduction published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1923, with an Introduction by Eric George Millar.

[2] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 49.

[3] Rait, *Making of Scotland*, p. 15.

[4] Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 157.

[5] See Chap. XI. of this work, on events immediately subsequent to Queen Margaret's death.

[6] *Vita Margaritæ*, in British Museum. Cotton, Tiberius D. III.

[7] Matilda—"the good Queen Maud"—sister of King Eadgar of Scots, was married to Henry I. of England at Westminster on 11th November 1100. See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a.* 1100; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum, a.* 1100; *Chronicle of Melrose, a.* 1100; *Chronicle of Huntingdon, a.* 1100; Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, ii., p. 168.

[8] The monks of Durham whose names begin with "T" are as follows—the number of each being given thus :—

Turgot	is	6th	on	the list.
Turkil	„	8th	„	„
Thurstan	„	76th	„	„
Thomas (1)	„	83rd	„	„
Thomas (2)	„	86th	„	„
Turold	„	89th	„	„
Theoderic	„	131st	„	„

[9] *Surtees Society*, vol. li., preface, pp. lviii., lix., lx.

[10] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Documents*, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 174, Appendix A.

[11] Fordun's *Chronicle*, Bk. V., chap. xviii. (1) "Sicut in legenda vitæ beatæ reginæ Turgotus testatur." (2) "Hæc Turgotus."

[12] "*Vita*," chap. xiii. "Qui post patrem regni gubernacula jam nunc in presenti tenet."

[13] Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. v.

[14] Thurgot = Runic, *Thurgutr :* Icelandic, *Thorgautr.*

[15] See "*Vita*," chap. iv.

[16] *Surtees Society*, vol. li., preface.

[17] Cotton, Tiberius D. III. (British Museum), much damaged by fire. Examined 22nd March 1923.

[18] Reprints of the "*Vita*" will be found in (1) *Acta Sanctorum*—Pinkerton's "Lives of the Scottish Saints" in *Surtees Society* (1868), vol. li.; (2) W. Forbes Leith, S.J., *Life of St Margaret.* (3) A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History* (A.D. 500-1286), vol. ii., p. 59.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW SHE BROUGHT CULTURE, COMMERCE AND NEW RELIGIOUS IDEAS TO SCOTLAND[1]

TURGOT is, no doubt, exaggerating when he tells us that, by reason of his friendship with Margaret, he was in great part familiar with her secret thoughts. Matilda, who requested him to write this Life of her mother, being the second youngest of Queen Margaret's eight children, could have known little of her mother's face; and Turgot being an elderly man when he wrote the biography very evidently gave himself to the work that he might keep alive the saintly memory of the Queen.

There are in all thirteen different sections or chapters in the Life, following on a comparatively short introduction. From these various divisions, we can now reconstruct the life of Queen Margaret, leaving that part of her career which refers to her extraordinary influence over the Celtic Church to be dealt with by itself in subsequent chapters. Meantime, let us learn what we can about the commerce, the culture, and the general influence

for good which Queen Margaret brought with her to Scotland.

The Queen was called Margaret, because she was a precious pearl in God's sight, and, although she was so young, Turgot was impressed by her unusual wisdom and soberness, her affability and prudence. These remarkable features were inherited from her illustrious ancestors. Nothing is said of her father. But her grandfather was Eadmund, the *Ferreum Latus* or Ironside, the invincible fighter; and his brother, who was her granduncle, was the pious and gentle Eadward the Confessor, who has left a lasting monument of his monastic leanings and devoutness in Westminster Abbey, which he began to build in 1055 and which was consecrated a few days before his death in 1065.[2]

Turgot traces Margaret's ancestral piety even further back, when he refers to the Confessor's two grandfathers. Of his paternal grandfather, Eadgar (959-975), there is recorded a legend which says, that at the boy's birth, St Dunstan heard an angelic voice singing—"Peace to England so long as this child shall reign, and our Dunstan lives." Of the Confessor's Norman grandfather on his mother Emma's side—Richard the Fearless, Count of Normandy (943-996)—Turgot says, that he

was, with all his vigour, a man most zealous in his love of religion, who built the whole Monastery of Fecamp, and who was rightly described as a secular in costume but a monk in action.

Here, surely, was an ancestry of pious kings which helps us to understand something of the nobility, the humility, the religious spirit, and the monastic leanings of Margaret, that pearl of women, who was destined to bring a renascence of culture and piety to the rude Court of Malcolm III., King of Scots.

Moreover, the Queen had a keen intellect, and began very early to make a study of the Scriptures. This religious education had been started in Hungary at the Court of Stephen I., King and Saint, and was continued at the Court of the Confessor in England, where Margaret lived for nine years with her mother, brother and sister. She had not only a remarkable mind, but a remarkable memory, and a still more remarkable facility of expressing her thoughts in words. Good books meant more to her than riches. She had a keen interest in the laws of the land of her adoption. The commerce of Scotland began to prosper under her. This woman who was gracious of speech, firm of faith, ever ready with good advice, and pleasant in her conversation, had a tremendous

influence upon Malcolm's person, Court and country.

It is only, however, when we touch her religion that we can understand her influence on the art and commerce of Scotland. At every point, it is always and only her religion that moulds her actions. The key to her whole life may be summed up in the one word —Rome. When she had decided to build a noble church at Dunfermline, dedicating it to the Holy Trinity, monkish architects and masons began to travel northwards from England and the continent in a continual stream which for generations was to go on flooding Scotland with monastic churches and abbeys.

The church of Dunfermline having been built, it needed all kinds of adornments. The day of the old simple Celtic chapels was gone. Vessels of pure gold now stood on the altar at Dunfermline, and Turgot himself was made responsible for these. The cross was of incomparable value, overlaid with gold and silver and set with jewels. Even the private room of the Queen was full of ecclesiastical treasures, for she turned her own apartment into a kind of workshop of the celestial arts, so that there were copes, chasubles, stoles, altar cloths, priestly garments and decorations for the church in every corner.

Margaret lived in an age of extravagant monasticism when religious ceremony was literally overloaded with decoration—the age which succeeded the earlier ascetic ideal of St Benedict and called for the later puritan revolt of St Bernard.[3] For Bernard absolutely forbade gold and silver crosses, and insisted that all crucifixes should be made of plain wood. The priests' vestments, like his own chasuble, which still exists, were to be of unembroidered linen or cotton, and there was to be no carving, painting or stained glass in the church.[4] Yet Margaret revelled in these sumptuous ecclesiastical ornaments.

She also gathered round her noble women who formed a special school of church work and embroidery. This, doubtless, was the beginning of a regular system of monastic embroidery schools for women that existed right on to the time of the Reformation. Piers Plowman makes reference to these classes of art needlework when he writes :—

> "And ye, lovely ladies
> With your longe frynges
> That ye have silk and sandel
> To sowe when tyme is,
> Chesibles for chapelynes
> Churches to honoure."[5]

The description given of the Queen in this chapter leads us to believe that she was an extremely ecstatic *religieuse*—a woman who might truthfully be described (to alter the phrase which Turgot uses of Richard the Fearless, Margaret's own Norman ancestor) as "a secular in costume but a nun in action." She never allowed any men to have access to the apartment where the women embroiderers were, unless she herself was present. No unseemly levity or laughter was permitted.[6] The Queen was an almost unnatural combination of pleasantness and severity, and all who were in her service loved her with fear and feared her with love. She herself never laughed loudly nor did she ever lose her temper. Her very anger is described as a level justice-loving wrath. She showed this same cold sense of justice to her children, which must have made many a mediæval mother seem altogether inhuman in her passionless relationship to the little children who passed their days in a cloistered nursery hungering for a little laughter or a caress. The ideal of the monk was very high, and men like St Francis and St Bernard were sincere with a life-and-death fidelity: but it is difficult to believe that Margaret, the Queen Mother, was more faultless than the much more human mother of modern times.

We are not surprised, however, to learn that her sons and daughters were honourably brought up. There were six sons, Eadward, Eadmund, Aethelred, Eadgar, Alexander, David, and two daughters, Matilda and Mary. But it is very apparent that the Saxon mother must have chosen the names, and the Scots father must have acquiesced, for all the royal children bore Saxon names. This must have been one of the many things which the Scots people resented.

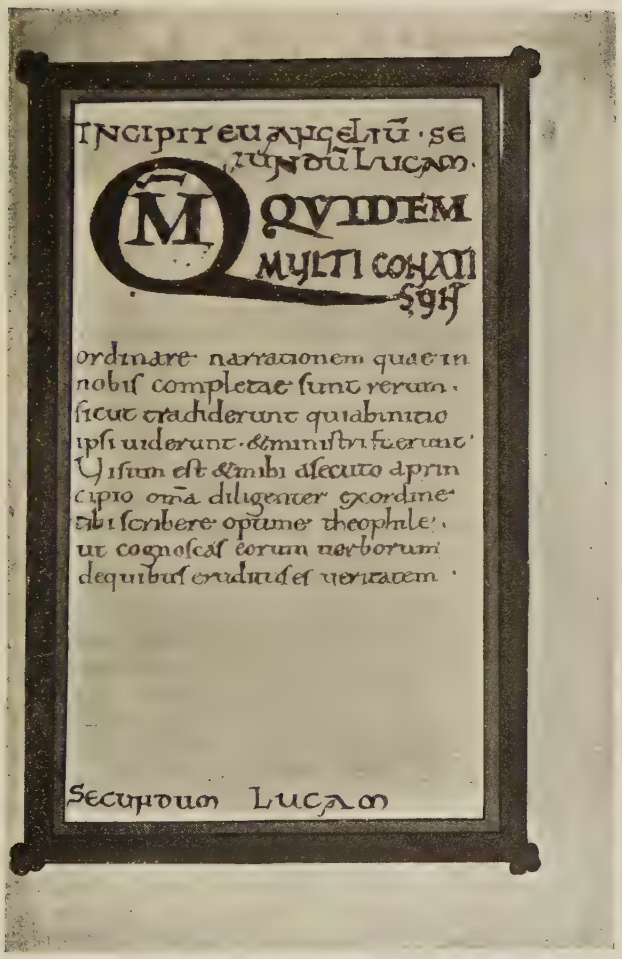
Margaret was not an over-indulgent mother. The house steward had instructions to whip the children when they did wrong. They were also drilled into uprightness and good manners, for the younger had always to honour the elder, and they even went to Mass in the order of age. We are told that they were kind and peaceable among themselves, but, being only human, these royal boys must have had many a quarrel of their own, although Turgot was wise enough to omit all such mundane details in his biography of their saintly mother. The one thing which he emphasises is, that Margaret's great desire was to bring up her children in the Christian faith.

With this end in view she showed great zeal in reading, and taught her children the love

of good books. Then as now, there was evidently great trouble over lawsuits and State affairs. But the Queen sought perpetual refuge in religious books. She was not only a reader, but a keen debater. She gathered learned men round her, and delighted to discuss the minutest points of doctrine with these monastic scholars. Indeed, her own erudition was such, that these teachers became learners when they were with her and often went away wiser from the debate than they had come.

Turgot evidently helped the Queen to form her library, for he tells us that he had often to exert himself very much in procuring books for her.[7] If we can believe the testimony of very circumstantial evidence, one book which was actually in the possession of Queen Margaret—her *Gospel Book*—remains with us to this day.[8]

In this matter of books and reading, her husband the King must have been something of a trial to the learned Queen. Malcolm's native speech was Gaelic, and although he could speak Latin and the language of the English Court, at which he had resided for fourteen years, yet he could not read or write.[9] Being thus ignorant of letters, he simply loved her books because he loved her.[10] So we get here a beautiful picture, if a pathetic one, of the


INCIPIT EU ΔΓΓCLIV̄ · SE
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QUIDEM
MULTI COHΔΓΓ
ordinare narrationem quae in
nobis completae sunt rerum ·
sicut tradiderunt quia bimitio
ipsi uiderunt · & ministri fuerunt ·
Visum est & mihi assecuto a prin
cipio oña diligenter exordine
tibi scribere optume theophile ·
ut cognoscas eorum uerborum ·
de quibus eruditus es veritatem ·
SECUNDUM LUCAM

PAGE OF ST LUKE'S GOSPEL.

From the "Gospel Book" of St Margaret.

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illiterate King of Scots picking out the book which he knew was dearest to her, and kissing it, as he fondled it in the rough hands which had committed many an act of war. Sometimes he would even call in the goldsmith and give orders that the book should be adorned with gold and jewels. Then the kingly lover would bring it back as a surprise of love to his saintly consort.

But the Queen brought trade and commerce as well as a renascence of learning to Scotland. At her request merchants came by land and sea from England and the Low Countries, bringing with them many precious wares that were quite unknown in Scotland. The natives were compelled to buy[11] clothing of different colours as well as various ornaments of dress.[12] Refined dress began to take the place of the crude garments they had hitherto worn, and gradually by this newly encouraged trade in dress stuffs and ornaments the Queen taught the Scots a new kind of elegance.

The royal palaces at Dunfermline and on the Castle Rock at Edinburgh were naturally the centres of all this wealth and refinement. Accustomed as the Queen had been to elegant ceremonies of State at the Courts of Hungary and England, she now constrained King Malcolm to introduce more pomp and ceremony

into the Scots Court. When he walked or rode he was now attended by a crowd of nobles and gentlemen, like an English King. Some of these nobles may have come north in 1066. The palace of the King became a veritable treasure house. Adornments of silk cloths[13] hung from the walls, and the whole house glittered with gold and silver. The very vessels in which food and drink were brought to the King's table were made of gold and silver or were overlaid with these precious metals.

And yet, while the Queen went about in costly garments and was bedecked with jewels, we are quaintly told by her biographer that in her heart she spurned all ornaments and regarded herself but as dust and ashes underneath all her finery. She was thus a strange combination of outward finery and inward humility, as two of her favourite texts show :—

"Man of woman born lives but a short time and is sated with many miseries; as a flower he comes forth and is crushed, and like a shadow he flies and never continues in the same state."[14] "What is our life? It is smoke appearing for a little while, and afterwards it will be quenched."[15]

Hiding beneath her silks and ornaments a contrite heart, the Queen even asked her confessor to rebuke her, and courted the

severe words of a priest which might by others have been taken as an insult. "Let the just man reprove me in mercy, and chide me; and let not the oil of the sinner anoint my head."[16] "For wounds inflicted by a friend are better than a flattering enemy's kisses."[17]

The picture of Queen Margaret which Turgot has drawn seems almost too good to be true. We see a regal woman, fair and pious, with a keen intellect, cultured sensibilities, and a will strong enough to consecrate everything to the Church which demands an unquestioning faith—but, above all, with a soul that is almost ecstatic in its monastic self-denials and its love of sheer devotion. If Turgot was altogether silent about her faults in his desire to exalt her virtues, at least he was true to the fashion of all mediæval biographers, and only did what was expected of him.

REFERENCES.

[1] The authority for all the facts stated about Queen Margaret in this chapter will be found in Turgot's "Life," chaps. i. to vii. See *Surtees Society*, vol. li., pp. 234-54. Or A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 59.

[2] Francis Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, chap. ii., p. 8.

[3] See G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i., pp. 281, 322.

[4] *Ibid.* Also Miraeus, *Chronicon Cistertiensis Ordinis*, p. 148 (drawn up by Stephen Harding). The general chapter statutes collected in 1134 give a vivid picture of the first Cistercian Ideal.

[5] *Piers Plowman*, vol. i., p. 117, ed. Wright.

[6] *Cf.* St Francis, who never laughed outright; and St Bernard, to whom monastic merriment was offensive. "Jests (*nugae*) . . . in a priest's mouth are blasphemous. . . . It is base to be moved to open laughter (*ad cachinnum*) and baser to move another thereto." Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. clxxxv., col. 306; *De Consid.*, lib. II., chap. xiii.

[7] See Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, chap. ii., pp. 194-95.

[8] Queen Margaret's *Gospel Book*. In the Bodleian Library (MS. Latin Liturg., f. 5). For account of the *Gospel Book* see chap. x., sect. 2.

[9] On Malcolm's ignorance of letters, see *Vita S. Margaritæ* (*Surtees Society*, vol. li.). Also Fordun, Bk. IV., chaps. 45, 47; Bk. V., chap. 14.

[10] "*Vita*," chap. vi. Note the beautiful expression: "He hastened . . . for love of her love to love the things that she had loved."

[11] In the text read *emerunt* instead of *emerent*.

[12] Some maintain that Queen Margaret introduced *tartan*. See Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 39-40, and his remark: "That *parti-coloured stuff* called *tartan*, which has been a long favourite with us, was perhaps introduced into Scotland by Margaret."

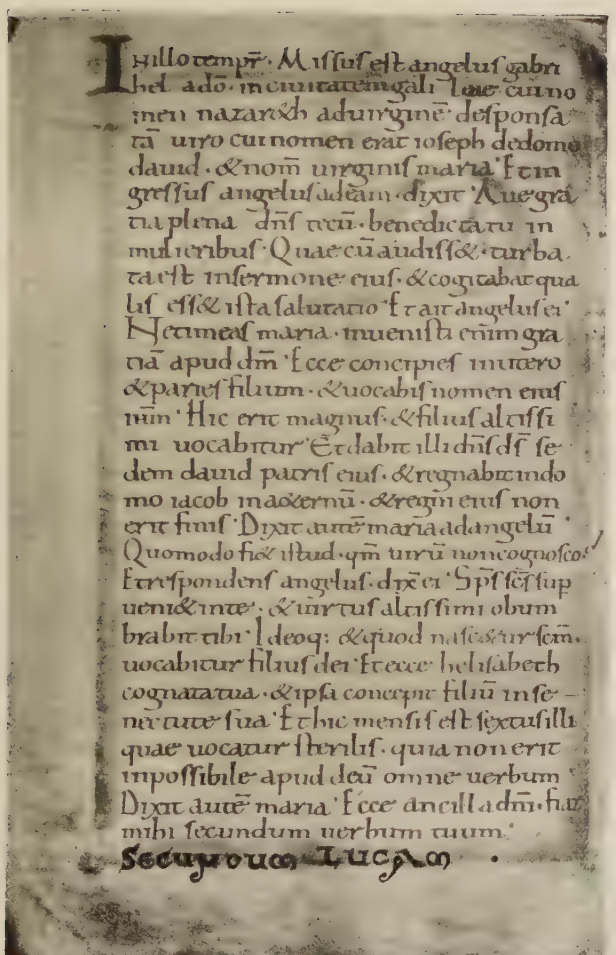
[13] *Palliorum.*

[14] Job xiv. 1-2.

[15] James iv. 15.

[16] *Vulgate*, Psalm cxl. 5.

[17] Proverbs xxvii. 6.



PAGE OF ST LUKE'S GOSPEL.

From the "Gospel Book" of St Margaret.

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CHAPTER IX

THE CELTIC CHURCH — ITS DIVERGENCES FROM ROME — AND HOW MARGARET BROUGHT IT INTO COMPLETE UNIFORMITY

I. General Statement

In dealing now with the influence which Queen Margaret exerted on the Celtic Church in Scotland, we know exactly the points on which she laid stress, for these are definitely recorded in Turgot's Life of the Queen—the Keeping of the Feast of *Lent*; the Celebration of the Holy Sacrament on *Easter Day*; the Celebration of *Mass*, after a barbarous fashion; the Reverencing of the *Lord's Day*; and the Prohibition of *Marriage* within the forbidden degrees of affinity.

But it is well also at the outset to emphasise Margaret's curious silence on certain points which must have been of great interest to her.

She would, for example, be anxious to know whether there were sufficient churches throughout Scotland for the people to worship in: but had these not already existed, we cannot conceive of her keeping silence on this point.

There was also the matter of Bishops to supervise the churches. On this point she also was silent. But in light of the facts already stated, and the further fact that Ednam[1] is the first parochial foundation of the baronial type known to us in Scotland, we are quite entitled to ask whether there is not in this some evidence of a previous parochial development? If there were such individual churches, there must have been some sort of diocesan arrangement prior to Queen Margaret's time. Indeed, there are at least two cases[2] known to us where individual churches were given by Bishops of St Andrews to the Culdees of Lochleven, Markinch and Scoonie. These were evidently in the gift of the Bishopric of St Andrews, and Markinch had church lands.[3] This was in Queen Margaret's own century. But even Bede speaking of Aidan's work, as far back as the eighth century, says: "*construebantur ergo ecclesiæ per loca*,"[4] and this policy was developed under Theodore.[5]

In view of these facts, and the fact that Nechtan in 710 sent to Ceolfrid for builders to erect churches to St Peter, we may with safety suggest that parochial developments in the south must have had some effect upon the Celtic Church in the north, although to a quite indeterminate extent, and that there were

in Scotland churches "*per loca*," of which Markinch and Scoonie probably were examples. For although the Abbot predominated in the early non-diocesan Columban system, yet we have evidence of the emergence of the Bishop at Lindisfarne and of a reflex action on the monastic church in the north. In the beginning of the tenth century we find for the first time in our annals mention of a Bishop whose seat was at St Andrews.[6] He was elected by the Culdee monks out of their own number.[7] So, although the Culdee religious establishments were monastic, they seem to have acknowledged the Episcopal jurisdiction.[8]

All this bears directly on Queen Margaret's work as a reformer of the Celtic Church, and is important as a somewhat negative explanation of the kind of reforms which, according to Turgot, she did or did not desire.

It is probable, therefore, that she made no mention of local churches, or Bishops to look after them, because, on the above showing, both to some extent seem to have been already in existence.

Thus we have some idea of what advance had been made by the Celtic Church after Bede's day, and we can all the better understand why Queen Margaret concentrated on these five points of debate. They were evidently the

most vital features, in her view, that needed immediate reform.

When we begin, therefore, to investigate the circumstances which give rise to the divergence in usage between the Church of Rome and the Celtic Church of Ireland, we enter upon a dark age. The facts are very few. Authentic early documents are so scarce, and those of later date which treat of the subject are generally written by convinced Romans who read their own standpoints back into the earlier times with which they are dealing. Probably, therefore, the soundest course to pursue will be to state, in a general way, the situation which arose in the Christian world of Europe after the Fall of the Roman Empire.

Rome fell in 410. Whenever the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain (*c.* 409-420) hordes of Saxons, Angles and Jutes raided the abandoned island and settled down. On the fall of the Imperial Empire the Visigoths, taking the line of the Danube and the Rhine, invaded the Western provinces of the Empire and overran Gaul, Spain, and North Africa. Following on their train came other hordes of Vandals, Burgundians, Huns, Franks and Lombards, and the old strength of Roman Law was replaced by the rude

authority of barbarian chiefs. For a time there was chaos in Europe.

All this drove a wedge of barbarism between the Church whose centre was at Rome, and the far-off Celtic Church whose centre was in the isolated isle of Ireland. The Roman Church was, naturally, shaken to its foundations and had to be gradually reorganised and revived. But the Celtic Church which was cut off from all this European turmoil, went on developing quietly in Ireland—an island which had never been within the Roman Empire. The Roman Church developed on the lines of the old Imperial Empire, and out of the shattered Christianity of Europe emerged the statesman-like missions of Gregory I., who as Bishop of Rome resolved to Christianise the pagan invaders and convert the heretics to the orthodox faith. The Celtic Church in Ireland, on the other hand, isolated as it was from the strife of Europe and harassed by nothing more than mere tribal quarrels, developed peacefully on the lines of the local tribal system, which meant a complete absence of graded hierarchy and very little co-ordination. The Roman Church, with a vast European territory to cover, instituted a regular diocesan system, with Bishops set over the widely scattered ecclesiastical provinces. The Celtic Church, which was

never a diocesan Church, spread the Gospel by means of local missions to the Western Isles, the mainland, and even to Gaul. It became famous for its efficient educational system and produced ripe scholars like Finnian of Clonard. All the Irish clergy were monks. Each community of monks had its own Superior: but that Superior was not necessarily a Bishop.[9]

Where exactly the first missionary pioneers of the Church in Ireland came from will always be a point of conjecture and dispute. St Patrick is generally supposed to have been the pioneer of Christianity in Ireland, but Christianity certainly had some hold in Ireland before St Patrick's time. The first Christian Gospellers in Ireland may have been Gallic traders or Christian captives who were fleeing from Roman Britain. St Patrick himself was one of these Christian captives who escaped to Gaul, and trained there for his Irish mission which started in 432.[10] But during the first three centuries the references to Christianity in Britain are few and far between. Certainly the British Church was represented at the Synod of Arles in 314 by three Bishops, Eborious of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Caerleon-on-Usk.[11]

So this British Christianity existed long

before St Augustine, and it must have been derived immediately from Gaul. Both Gaul and Spain were Christianised while they remained part of the ancient Empire. Their early Christianity, quite apart from any character which it derived directly from Rome, had a character all its own which implied a relation of co-ordination to Rome rather than of derivation from Rome. It is certain that Christianity came direct from the East to Gaul and Spain, although there was doubtless a stream of influence from Rome after Christianity had become settled and established in Rome. The order of conversion of the European nations, or nearly so, was: Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Germany. The Church at Lyons, for example, under Irenæus was in close connection with the Churches of Asia almost as soon as anything is known of a Church of Rome after Apostolic times.[12]

This early connection of Gallic Christianity with Oriental Christianity was made quite possible by the splendid road system of the Roman Empire. The Roman road system was so complete that a traveller could leave Babylon or Asia Minor, as Constantine the Great once did, and travel all the way to Boulogne.[13] Christian missionaries, therefore, could easily travel from Galatia to Gaul and

the shores of the Channel and cross over to Britain.[14] Certain it is, that the early Irish Church had very intimate relations with the Church in Gaul. All this has a direct bearing on the vital question which arises in connection with St Margaret's greatest problem—How to reconcile the Celtic Church which had developed a ritual of its own, with the Roman Church which had become the rule and model of all Christian Churches.

The obscurity of this dark period will never be altogether cleared up. But at least it helps us to understand the unique independence of the Celtic Church in Scotland,[15] and the points of difference in its ritual from the greater Church of Rome, if we remember these broad facts :—

(1) That the Roman Church developed on Imperial lines, while the Celtic Church developed on tribal lines :

(2) That the Roman Church was moulded by the circumstances of the European upheaval, while the Celtic Church was moulded by the quieter circumstances of an isolated island which had never known the tramp of Roman legions :

(3) That the Roman Church became diocesan and priestly, while the Celtic

Church, although the Abbots of Lindisfarne were called Bishops,[16] remained local, missionary in character, and entirely monastic :

(4) That the great wedge of barbarism which was driven right through the lands of Western Europe was the real cause of isolating the Celtic Church of the remoter isles and thus keeping it apart for centuries from the great Church of St Peter at Rome.

It ought, perhaps, in this connection to be noted that in St Adamnan's *Life of Columba*—one of the earliest documents we have to depend upon—the Roman Church is never once mentioned. There are, however, three distinct references to the Roman State, but these are quite non-ecclesiastical.[17] This argument from silence, however, is very unreliable, and too much weight must not be laid upon it.

After the time of St Ninian and St Patrick the Irish Church by means of zealous missionaries Christianised the northern part of Britain. St Columba worked from Iona. Aidan[18] worked as a Columban through the Court of Northumbria, and the mission established at Lindisfarne worked southward.

After Aidan came the Augustinian mission

of Rome to England and gradually worked northwards. This mission was the outcome of the statesmanlike zeal of Gregory I. St Columba died in 597, and in that same year St Augustine's mission to England began. Sooner or later a collision was bound to take place between the Roman missionaries working from the south and the Celtic missionaries working from the north, especially as the ritual of the two Churches did not exactly coincide. The historical collision came at the Council of Whitby in 664. Here we touch solid history in Bede.[19] The story of Whitby is so important for our purpose that a short account of what happened must be given.

Wilfrid, a zealous monk, after staying for a few years at Lindisfarne, withdrew to Kent, where he came under the strict rule of Rome. From Kent he crossed over to Gaul and travelled to Rome by way of Lyons. He now gave his whole-hearted allegiance to the Pope and received the Roman tonsure. In 658 he returned to Northumbria as a strict member of the Latin Church. In 661 he was consecrated as Abbot of Ripon. When Wilfrid settled at Ripon, the Lindisfarne settlement was under Colman, a simple Columban monk (661-664). Bede tells us the story of the famous trial of wits which took place in 664 at Whitby between

clever Wilfrid and simple Colman, over the date of Easter and the tonsure,[20] with King Oswy presiding. But Colman, having been worsted in the debate, still refused to come under the Rule of Rome, and returned to Iona. Then he crossed to Ireland with some of his followers, and died there.

But Colman, the gentle Columban Abbot who was called Bishop, withdrawing quietly with his followers from Lindisfarne rather than accept the Roman date of Easter and the Tonsure of the Crown, is a far finer figure than Wilfrid flouting him with a remark about "your Columba."[21]

Thus the whole of Northumbria came under the power of Rome, and the Lindisfarne mission was identified with the Bishopric of York.

But after the time of Bede (*c.* 731) in the eighth century, we enter upon what might be called the Dark Centuries in which there is little to enlighten us until we emerge again in the time of Queen Margaret at the end of the eleventh century. Of the Celtic Church during that period we know very little.[22]

Before we enter the "tunnel," our only contemporary ecclesiastical authority is Bede.

During the long dark passage through the succeeding centuries which made the "tunnel,"

we are groping for light. We know, however, one ecclesiastical fact, that the Columban Abbots of Lindisfarne, Aidan, Finan, and Colman, were called Bishops, although, as we have already seen, the Ionic Church from which they came was not a diocesan Church. Bede tells us that "Bishop" Aidan was himself a monk; that Finan continued no small time in "the Bishopric," and that Colman who was sent from Scotland came to be "the Bishop."[23] So the influence of the Roman system was undoubtedly beginning to be felt by those Columbans who were in charge at Lindisfarne at this early date.

On emerging again into something like historical daylight, we find the controversy between Rome and the Celtic Church acute. When that was settled under the influence of Queen Margaret, we are immediately face to face, in the time of her son Edgar, with the establishment of the first parish church known to us in Scotland at Ednam.[24] Although this seems to be anticipating and going beyond the date of our subject, yet for our purpose at this point it is especially relevant. For it is just here that we get at the reason why the institution of Bishoprics became inevitable and even necessary in the Celtic Church of Queen Margaret's time. While it had been quite

sufficient for the old Celtic Church to be merely a missionary church, whose monks, like St Cuthbert, had a roving commission to convert those people who lived in the wilds and then return again to the monastery,[25] the later Church of the eleventh century had to face the entirely new problem of looking after a number of fixed ecclesiastical units or churches which were now being attached to the estates of the barons and Norman lords who came north after the Conquest. There could be no organised superintendence of these churches without Bishops. So the existence of a growing number of these fixed charges was sufficient reason why the old non-diocesan order of the Celtic Church should give place to a new order, which inevitably was the Roman system of Bishops.

II. Facts which bear on the Beginnings of *Ecclesia Scoticana*.

But during the four dark centuries that followed the Council of Whitby, the northward extension of the Roman Church was checked by racial warfare and pagan invasions which built up additional barriers between the north and the south. In this connection the following facts are significant.

In 685 Egfrith, son of King Oswy, was defeated and slain with the bulk of his army at Nectan's Mere or Dunnechtan (*i.e.* Dunnichen, near Forfar) by the Picts under Brude their King, and the power of Northumbria was shattered. Trumwine, Bishop of the English at Aebbercurnig[26] (Abercorn) on the Forth, fled to Whitby. This stopped the spread of Roman Christianity northwards. The Picts recovered their own land, and the strength of the Anglican kingdom began to ebb and fall away.[27]

Then, in 710, Nechtan, King of the Picts, renounced the Celtic Church for what he considered its ecclesiastical error, and, being attracted to the ritual of the Southern Church which adhered to the Roman observance of Easter and the Tonsure of the Crown, wrote to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, for guidance. Ceolfrid replied in a long letter, and Nechtan "brought himself and all his people to celebrate the Catholic time of Our Lord's Resurrection."[28] This shows, at least, a tendency towards the Roman Rule on the part of some of the Picts under Nechtan, for the King put himself under the guidance of St Peter and resented the persistent adherence of the Scots to the Columban or Irish ritual. This, however, was before the Scots had chosen St Andrew for a national saint.

Nechtan also asked that master builders should be sent to him, and so he built a church of stone after the Roman fashion, contrary to the well-established Celtic custom of using wood, promising at the same time to dedicate it to St Peter. This church, it has been suggested,[29] was built at Restennet, near Forfar. The ancient Priory there was certainly dedicated to St Peter, and it was situated on a peninsula in what was then Restennoth Loch, now drained.[30] In this connection it is very interesting to note, that before St Andrew became the patron saint of Scotland his brother St Peter preceded him, although only for a short time in that capacity, within the Pictish kingdom. There were many ancient dedications to St Peter in Northern Scotland, which shows a tendency, at least on the part of some, to honour the Roman patron saint.[31]

Still further, by 731 Candida Casa was made a Bishopric, under the See of York, as the number of the faithful had increased.[32] This Bishopric only lasted about seventy years, for the last Anglo-Saxon Bishop died in 803, and in the ninth century Galloway was overrun by Celts. The Bishopric disappeared for nearly three centuries, only to be revived again by David I., Queen Margaret's son, in 1125.[33]

Again, it is to be observed, that this incident only proves an attempt on the part of the Southern Church to impose their diocesan system on the northern peoples who were not yet united either in faith or in race.

But one King of the Picts, Angus MacFergus, helped to consolidate the nation (731-761) by invoking St Andrew as the patron of his people and consecrating to him a tenth part of his heritage. About the same date (747) we read of the Abbacy of Kilrymont, which was afterwards to become St Andrews, the Church of that saint in Scotland.[84]

A second King, Constantine I. (789-820), helped further to establish a centre of national religion at Dunkeld ; for he erected ecclesiastical buildings there—*hic ædificavit Dunkelden*[85]—and transferred the bones of Columba from Iona to Dunkeld for greater safety because of the raiding Danes.

The third King who completed the consolidation of the nation, which had now one patron saint and one centre of ecclesiastical power at Dunkeld, was Kenneth MacAlpin (843-858).[86] It was he who united the Picts and the Scots and welded them into one nation. He himself had a right to rule over the Picts, according to their own law of succession. For, in Pictland, the sons of the mother inherited the crown,

and Kenneth, through the maternal descent of his father, could make this claim. He ruled Fortrenn, and recognised Dunkeld as the religious capital of the newly united kingdom. So the Abbot of Dunkeld became the first Bishop of Fortrenn.[87] He completed the removal of Columba's relics to Dunkeld,[88] and placed there that symbol of Scots nationality—the Stone of Destiny of red sandstone, which to-day rests below the Seat of the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey.[89]

Here, then, we have a united nation, with a patron saint of its own, and one recognised Bishop, with a religious capital at Dunkeld.

Only one other fact remains, and it is the most important of all, to show how definitely this national and independent Church had been established. Out of all this welter of war and paganism, political faction and religious strife, we come to the significant fact that in 878 the expression *Ecclesia Scoticana*[40] is used for the first time in the records of a nation which had not only a Scots King, but a Church which was in alliance neither with the English Church nor the Roman Church. Indeed, before this, the religious Orders of the Scots had been condemned as worthless by councils both in England and in Gaul.[41] No Roman priest

or Anglican Bishop was responsible for the foundation of *Ecclesia Scoticana.*

The Norsemen added another and a terrific barrier between the Church of the Angles and the Celtic Church in Scotland. For in the ninth century they invaded Northumbria and found little resistance offered by the Northumbrians, whom Charlemagne described as "a perfidious and perverse race, worse than pagans." The Church at Lindisfarne was destroyed and Northumbria became almost a Danish province in which Christian civilisation was extinguished.[42]

The west coasts of Scotland were also overswept by these Norse rovers. The religious settlement of Iona was raided again and again.[43] The monastery was sacked in 794. It was burned in 825, with a massacre of the monks. It was raided again in 986, when the Abbot and fifteen monks were murdered on the white sands. The Western Isles became known as the Strangers' Isles. The White Strangers were the Norsemen and the Black Strangers were the Danes. Odin and Freya were worshipped with pagan rites in the Orkneys, in Caithness, in Sutherland, and in Ross. But Olave the Thick, in 995, became a Christian and began thereafter to destroy paganism. In 1005 the Earl of Orkney

professed Christianity. But this spread of Christianity among the Norsemen must not be used indiscriminately as a sign of the influence of *Ecclesia Scoticana*, the Church of the Culdees; for when these Orcadians of the eleventh century wished to have Christian preachers they applied to the Archbishop of Hamburg, who sent them Bishops. These Bishops were under Scandinavian Metropolitans.[44]

This brings us to the end of the dark period, or the Historical Tunnel, which lasted from the Council of Whitby in 664 until the coming of Queen Margaret in the eleventh century. The Church of the land to which the fair Aetheling princess came was ministered to by Culdees. The Queen and her husband seem to have continued favourable to the Culdees, for they made grants of land to the Culdee settlements at St Serfs and Monymusk.[45]

The origin of the Culdees is still shrouded in mystery. Modern historians are by no means agreed about them. So we can only weigh the evidence and then draw very guarded conclusions.

There seems to be no doubt, however, that the word Culdee, or *cele-De*, the Celtic equivalent for the familiar *Dei-Cola*, was a word which had a great variety of applications.

It was used to describe hermits and conventuals, celibates and married clergy, regulars and seculars, those who were bound by a vow of poverty and those who accumulated property, those who were honoured for their self-denial and those who were held in contempt because they were loose and worldly-minded men.[46]

One historian[47] maintains that we have only the vaguest hints as to the real character of these Keledei or Servants of God; that they were an off-shoot from the Columban Church; that, indeed, they were dissenters and arose apart from the main development of Christianity in Scotland, because they were dissatisfied with the secular distractions of the Columban monastery; and that, in course of time, they came to make such terms with the world that, in the interests of Church and State alike, they appear to have met a deserved fate.

On the other hand, we have a later historian of the Church[48] maintaining that the idea of a main development of the Church distinct from the settlements which are styled Culdee is a hypothesis for which no proof has been tendered. Their settlements at Dunkeld and St Andrews were the religious capitals. To the Culdees alone are grants of land from Kings and Bishops recorded[49]; the natural inference being that the Culdees were not

mere dissenters who existed apart from the main development of Christianity in Scotland. This same historian further maintains that the Culdees were the only ministers of *Ecclesia Scoticana*; that they lived apart from secular life in companies numbering usually twelve with a Prior or Abbot or Provost at their head; that marriage was permitted, but that married Culdees were not allowed to take their wives into their cells; and that no charge of immorality has ever been brought against them.[50]

When St Dunstan, between the years 960 and 988, set himself along with St Ethelwold and St Oswald to accomplish the moral reformation of the monasteries, one would like to believe that this movement had no bearing on the Culdees of Scotland. But it seems certain that a general worldliness had settled down on many of their establishments,[51] and we find still another authority[52] stating that when this reformation reached Scotland at the beginning of the twelfth century, a lay Abbot reigned at St Andrews,[53] the old endowments of the monastery were in lay hands, the obligations of the altar were divided among seven persons one of whom was the Bishop and five seem to have been married laymen, the services of the Church being performed by

a Prior or Provost and twelve Canon clerics or Culdees holding their benefices by carnal succession or hereditary right.[54] But, as we shall see later on, a Priory of Augustinian Canons Regular was artfully placed beside those Culdee clerics, so near as to be within hearing of their chants and within a stone's throw of their altar. The Bishop transferred his patronage from them to their rivals the Augustinian Canons. So the Culdees lost their cure of souls. They silently subsided into a Chapter of secular priests. The name of Culdee was gradually set aside as meaningless or uncouth, and before a Stewart came to the throne it seems to have been heard no more.

Having thus made a rapid survey of the facts which directly bear on the question of the divergences between the Celtic Church and the Roman Church, we are now in a position to understand the action of Queen Margaret when, as a devout Roman, she proceeded to deal with the Culdee clerics of *Ecclesia Scoticana* for their divergence from the Church of St Peter.

III. The Council of The Five Points.

Queen Margaret was not only a saintly woman with a *flair* for monastic religion, but she must have been a woman of very strong personality with a determined will and a splendid mentality; else she could never have conceived and carried through the idea of holding an Ecclesiastical Congress, herself in the Chair, with clerics of very different standpoints to conciliate and several intricate points of ecclesiastical usage to discuss.

While the older monks of the Columban or Culdee Orders must have greatly admired the Queen's holy character, they must also have resented her severely Roman views—for these were in several matters directly opposed to the more provincial usages of the ancient Celtic Church, and, then as now, the Church is a conservative body. This makes it all the more remarkable that Queen Margaret, by her ability, tact, patience, and force of reason was able to bring these Celtic clerics completely over to the Roman view.

But, it must again be stated, that if Queen Margaret had not set herself to this task, some one else would have accomplished it, for the strong passion for the religion of Rome, which overswept Europe in the eleventh century

and travelled northwards across the narrow seas to the most distant islands of Britain, was irresistible. In this respect the saintly Queen was not the only pioneer of Roman influence—rather was she one of the most illustrious of the many agents who became the means of sweeping all devout priests and laymen into the fold of the great Church of St Peter. The truth is, that in Scotland the old Celtic period was giving place to a new Saxon period which had been naturally brought about by the English thralls and Danish refugees who had poured into the Northern kingdom after the Norman Conquest. Some of these became members of Malcolm's Court. Others got grants of land and settled down as colonists. But all these newcomers accepted more or less the Celtic Christianity which they found on their arrival in Scotland, and by their Saxon influence quite unconsciously changed it.

To show how very primitive some of the churches in Northumbria and Scotland must have been in Queen Margaret's day, there still existed in the year 1042 the little wooden cathedral at Chester-le-Street in Durham, which had sheltered the body of St Cuthbert. But Egelric, who became the Bishop of Durham in that year, destroyed this primitive wooden church and built in its stead one of stone.[55]

It will be readily understood, therefore, that this saintly Queen who had been brought up among the comparative magnificence of monastic religion, first in Hungary, and then in England where buildings like Westminster Abbey were being conceived, would be anxious to bring the Church in the land of her adoption into line with all-powerful Rome. This brings us to the most vital chapter in her life. For the details of how she accomplished her object, we return once more to Turgot's "Life."

Had Queen Margaret been an indifferent Christian, she would never have troubled herself about the Celtic Church in Scotland. But the secret of her whole life is to be found in her devoutness. When, for example, she saw a bad man she exhorted him to become good, a good man to be better, a better to endeavour to be best. Zeal for the Church literally consumed her: it glowed in her soul like the apostolic faith: so she laboured to eradicate the irregularities which had sprung up within the Celtic Church. The true standard of religious observance and the true faith to her was the Roman Faith, and when she saw that many things were done in Scotland contrary to the rule of Rome, she appointed many Councils that she might bring back the wanderers to the one and only fold of Rome.

This remarkable woman fought with the sword of the Spirit for three days, very few supporting her, against the defenders of what her biographer calls perverted custom. Like another Helen[56] confuting the Jews, so did Queen Margaret confute the erring Celts. King Malcolm, of course, stood by her. He was neither a scholar nor an ecclesiastic. He could not even write. But he had such a love for his fair consort that he became her chief supporter in this religious Congress. He could speak English as well as his own native Gaelic, so he acted as interpreter between the Queen and her Celtic opponents.[57]

Here, then, we have a very striking picture —the gentle Queen presiding over the assembly, and the rough, warlike King acting as her interpreter. This was all the more remarkable, because Malcolm at a later period showed how much he hated the Roman Church. Did not this King of Scots, who during his lifetime invaded England five times, drive two English monks from Melrose with a threat of death if they refused to swear fealty to him, one of whom was actually Turgot?[58] Did he not in 1089 drag from the face of his daughter Matilda the nun's veil, that hateful symbol of the conventual life, and curse the person who had put it there?[59] What an extra-

ordinary affection, then, must this warrior King have had for his wife, and what a powerful influence she must have exerted over him! For here stands Canmore as interpreter by the side of his Queen at an Ecclesiastical Council, the object of which was to convert the older Celtic churchmen to the stricter usage of Rome! Whatever we may think of the pious Queen, it is certain that the King's presence at this religious gathering was an anomaly.

The Five Points of Difference mentioned in the "Life" were:

(1) That the Celtic Church began the *Feast of Lent* not on Ash Wednesday, but on the Monday of the first week of Lent, thus fasting thirty-six days instead of forty days.

(2) That the *Holy Sacrament* was not celebrated on *Easter Day.*

(3) That in some districts *Mass* was celebrated with a ritual that was barbarous, and opposed to the custom of the whole Church.

(4) That the *Lord's Day* was not reverenced because work was done on it.

(5) That *marriage* was allowed within the forbidden degrees of affinity.

(1) *The Celtic Church did not legally keep the Feast of Lent.*—When the Celts protested that they acted on the authority of Scripture, fasting like Christ for six weeks, the Queen pointed out to them that the Universal Church commenced the forty days' fast on Ash Wednesday, but that the Celts began it on the following Monday, thus fasting thirty-six days instead of forty days. Therefore it remained for the Church in Scotland to begin the fast four days sooner if they were strictly to keep the Fast of Forty Days according to the Lord's example, else they would be resisting the tradition of Holy Church.[60]

But in this the Queen was not quite correct, for the Scottish usage was the more primitive one. It was not until the sixth or seventh century that Ash Wednesday and the three days that follow were added to the Lenten Feast.[61] This was not, however, submitted to the Queen as a contra-argument, or, at least, there is no mention in the "Life" of any Celt putting it forward. So the Queen prevailed. Of course we can hardly doubt that Turgot, who was a devout Roman, would be greatly prejudiced in Queen Margaret's favour, and would in all probability so select his material and express his opinions in the "*Vita*" that

the Queen would invariably appear more orthodox than her opponents.

It is difficult to master the details of this intricate question. From the earliest ages the time of Easter was a very frequent subject of dispute in the Christian Church. The first Christians must have known the exact dates of the principal events in our Lord's history, but, as century followed century, tradition became confused, and these exact dates were often challenged.

The first important decision was arrived at in the year A.D. 325 at the Council of Nice (Nicæa, the metropolis of Bithynia, a province of Asia Minor). There it was agreed that (1) Easter was always to be observed on a Sunday, (2) and on that particular Sunday which came next after the full moon, following 21st of March.

This decision was accepted by the whole Church, but it gradually came to light that different Churches used different methods of calculating, and so they arrived at different conclusions. For example, the Roman Church calculated by a cycle of eighty-four years; but the Alexandrian Church calculated according to a cycle of nineteen years, a more accurate cycle, and one which was adapted by Eusebius from the old Metonic Cycle.[62]

But in the year 460 the Roman Church gave up the cycle of eighty-four years, and adopted still another which had been framed by Victorius of Acquitaine, who based his calculations on the Alexandrian Cycle. All were now at one upon the particular day in the Paschal month on which Easter should be celebrated. But there was still this point of difference—that the Latins determined that it should be between the sixteenth and twenty-second days after the rising of the new moon, while the Alexandrians determined that it should be between the fifteenth and the twenty-first.

In the year 530, Rome made yet another change and adopted the Cycle of Dionysius Exiguus,[68] a Scythian by birth and a monk of the Western Church, whose cycle agreed in the main with the Alexandrian Cycle. Dionysius Exiguus appears to have been about four years too late in fixing the beginning of his cycle, but this was the Roman use when St Augustine came to England in the year 597.

Meantime the Celtic Church in Ireland and Scotland was still calculating on the old cycle of eighty-four years which Rome had formerly used, but the Celts ruled that Easter Day might fall between 14th and 20th of the Paschal month.

From the above[64] it becomes quite clear (1) that Rome had already twice changed and abandoned her Easter cycle or usage, and (2) that the Celtic Churches, although very nearly approximating to the old Roman usage, had in some respects adopted a rule of their own. Consequently, they were not in conformity with any other Church in the East or the West. But, at least, it may be said for the Celtic Churches—that, while Rome had changed her usage twice, the Celts had on the whole, rightly or wrongly, stood by the oldest usage of Easter, calculating on a cycle of eighty-four years.

(2) *The Celtic Church did not observe the Holy Sacrament on Easter Day.*—When the Queen asked for an explanation of this irregularity, the Celts replied that those who eat and drink unworthily eat and drink judgment to themselves. As they felt themselves to be sinners, they had a dread of approaching that Mystery. Indeed, the Culdees were not permitted to communicate during the first year of their training, and not without restriction until their seventh year.[65] This is all the more interesting, because this same superstitious fear or awe of approaching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper which prevailed in the ancient Celtic Church before the eleventh

century still prevails in the purely Celtic parts of Scotland to-day. Highlanders in many cases will not become regular members of the Christian Church until they are middle-aged men and women, for fear of eating and drinking unworthily. So the catechumen or young communicant is still a distinctly Celtic problem in the Church of Scotland of the twentieth century.

After the great days of Iona were over, there was a good deal of irregularity, and the Culdees seem to have observed a rite of their own :— *Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant.*[66]

This, however, was not the first time in history that the question of irregularity in observing the ritual of Easter was discussed. We have already seen that at the Synod of Whitby in 664, when there was a discussion on the date of Easter and the Tonsure, Colman with most of the Irish and thirty Northumbrians left Lindisfarne. A number, however, remained and handed down the best traditions of Celtic Art, which culminated in the magnificent "Lindisfarne Gospels." At Colman's request, Abbot Eata of Melrose was ultimately transferred to Lindisfarne to watch over the settlement. It was under this Abbot Eata at

Melrose that the great St Cuthbert became a monk in 651, succeeding Boisil as Prior some years later. Eata in turn summoned St Cuthbert at a later date to come to Lindisfarne as Prior. The result of the Synod of Whitby in 664 was that a greater intercourse took place between the Anglican Church and that of Rome. This was the beginning of the spread northwards of the Roman Influence which reached its final triumph in Queen Margaret's persuasive eloquence at the Congress. So the Roman controversy about Easter irregularities really began at Whitby in 664 and only ended at Queen Margaret's Congress somewhere about the year 1080, involving a process of more than 400 years.

The Queen's answer to the over-conscientious Culdees was, as usual, reasonable in the extreme. Was no sinner to taste the Sacramental Mystery? According to the Culdee rule, none ought to take it, for none was without the stain of sin, not even the babe that had lived but one day on the earth. If none ought to take it, why does the Gospel proclaim, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you shall not have life in you." It was only he who presumed to approach the Sacred Mysteries without confession or penitence that was in danger of eating and drinking judgment

to himself. But those who had confessed their sin for many days before, who were lean with fasting, and who were cleansed from sin by alms and tears, they alone could take the Flesh and Blood of the Spotless Lamb and have their sins remitted.

Again, those Celtic churchmen of the eleventh century had nothing to answer to the persuasive pleading and reasonableness of the saintly Queen. They recognised, henceforth, the statutes of the Church and kept them ever after in the Sacrament of Salvation.

(3) *The Celtic Church in some districts celebrated Mass with a Barbarous Ritual in opposition to the custom of the whole Church.* —What this barbarous rite exactly was will never be known. We have just seen that the Culdees had some peculiarities of ritual all their own. It has been suggested [67] that the celebration of Mass in the Gaelic language instead of in the universal Latin tongue of the Roman Church may have been the "barbarity" referred to so guardedly in Turgot's "Life." If so, this would be indeed a delicate matter to discuss with Gaelic-speaking Celts. But Queen Margaret does not seem to have abolished "these barbarous rites" altogether, for the Culdees continued to celebrate *more suo* even in the days of King Alexander and King

David, her sons. We know, however, that Margaret and Malcolm were kindly disposed to the Culdees—those Friends of God—else the royal pair would never have made grants of land to the Culdee settlements at St Serfs and Monymusk.[68]

(4) *The Celtic Church failed to reverence the Lord's Day, employing it for worldly business.* —"Let us," said Margaret, "venerate the Lord's Day, because on it our Saviour rose from the dead." She also added to this a similar testimony from Pope Gregory[69] who punished a certain man with severe rebuke because of earthly labour that he had done on the Lord's Day, and passed decree of excommunication for two months upon those by whose counsels he had done it.

The Celts who were unable to oppose these arguments of the wise Queen, reverenced the Holy Day thereafter so that none either carried burdens on it or compelled others to do so.

In this matter the Scots had perhaps kept up the traditional usage of the ancient Irish Church which observed Saturday instead of Sunday as the Day of Rest.[70] In his *Life of Columba*, Adamnan tells us that the Saint of Hy said to his servant Diormet, "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest. And this day is indeed

a Sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my present labouring life, and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labours. This night, at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day, I shall, according to the sayings of Scriptures, go the way of our fathers." [71]

From that passage it is plain that according to the old Columban Rule, what we now call Saturday was considered to be the Day of Rest before the Lord's Day, and in this way the uncanonical custom of working on the Sabbath and resting on the Saturday may have arisen in the Celtic Church.

(5) *In the Celtic Church Marriage within the forbidden degrees of affinity was allowed.* —That is, the Celtic monks regarded as permissible a marriage between a man and his stepmother or a man and his deceased brother's wife. Irregular marriages on these lines were permitted in England in the seventh century and in Ireland in the twelfth.[72] Moreover, the Culdees were quite at liberty to marry.[73] Marrying a deceased brother's wife or even a stepmother was not uncommon in Scotland. But this custom was not confined to Scotland, for Giraldus Cambrensis [74] accuses the Irish in the ninth century of debauching the wives of their deceased brothers, and Pope Alexander III. (1159-1181) at a later date

denounced the same practice in very strong language.[75]

It is also possible that Queen Margaret, in "considering many other things that had sprung up contrary to the Rule of Faith" may have felt somewhat restrained in her condemnation of this matter of clerical marriage by her knowledge of the fact that the royal house of Malcolm III., her own husband who sat listening to the debate, owed its origin to the lay Abbot of one of the principal monasteries and was endowed by Church properties.[76] It is also significant that nothing was said about laymen filling the high offices of the Church, or of laymen seizing Church property. Indeed, if her eye happened to alight on her son Aethelred during the Congress, she could not but remember that in his boyhood he was appointed as lay Abbot of Dunkeld.[77] Even the saintly Queen, therefore, must have been more or less tongue-tied about some of these abuses when she called to mind her own family complications.

It may seem curious that Margaret laid so much stress on these five points, which were really externals, and said nothing about the diocesan nature of the Roman Church in contrast to the Culdee practice. But as regards this more important diocesan question, it has

already been pointed out that the diocesan system may even then have existed, and so she took for granted that the Bishop of Fortrenn embodied the diocesan principle.

However, on all these five points of difference — the Lenten Fast; the Easter Celebration of the Holy Communion; the proper Ritual of the Mass; the Resting from Labour on the Lord's Day; and the Forbidden Degrees of Affinity in Marriage — Queen Margaret prevailed. The Culdee clerics were unable to reply, and finally they agreed to conform to the Roman usage without dissent. Thus did this saintly woman persuade the ancient Celtic Church of Scotland to give up its actual divergence from the Church of St Peter, and from that day onward the Roman Rule prevailed throughout the whole of Scotland.

It will stand for ever as a testimony to the tact and womanly sense of Queen Margaret, that while she was debating all these vital questions with the Celtic churchmen, who would naturally be sensitive to every innovation of this Saxon adherent to Rome, the words Pope, Rome, Archbishop, and even Bishop, seem never to have been used.

REFERENCES.

[1] Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. XXXIII., p. 25; also note on p. 274.

[2] Lawrie, *ibid.*, Nos. VI. and VII.

[3] Skene throughout seems to assume a secular clergy (*Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 332, 365).

[4] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 3.

[5] Mackinnon, *Constitutional History of Scotland*, pp. 169-70. See Notes on p. 170.

[6] *Book of Deer*, preface cxxiii.

[7] E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. i., p. 338.

[8] Mackinnon, *Constitutional History of Scotland*, p. 74.

[9] See St Bernard's *Life of St Malachy of Armagh*, by H. J. Lawlor, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1920), Introduction xiii. and xiv.

[10] See *St Patrick: his Writings and Life*, by Newport J. D. White, D.D., Introduction pp. 11-18 (S.P.C.K., 1920).

[11] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. i., pp. 1-40.

[12] W. Stubbs, *Lectures on Early English History*, chap. xii., p. 238. H. M. Gwatkin, *Selections from Early Writers*, (1) "Irenæus' Letter to Florinus," p. 92; (2) "Irenæus' Adv. Haer. III., 3," p. 99; (3) "Letter from Vienne and Lyons to brethren in Asia and Phrygia," p. 66.

[13] For the road system of the Romans, see Le Bas and Waddington, *Voy. Archeol.*, t. iii., p. 206; *Rev. Arch.*, 1873, t. xxvi., p. 65; *Jour. Hel. Stud.*, 1883, t. iv., p. 30. Coates, *Romans of Britain*, p. 55.

[14] See Lightfoot, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, with Dissertation I. on "Were the Galatians Celts or Teutons?"

[15] It may be taken as historically true that up till the end of the eleventh century wherever the term Scot occurs it always means Irishman. But compare *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*a.* 934) in *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (A. O. Anderson), p. 67, "Ethelstan went into *Scotland*."

[16] See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III., chap. iv. (Aidan); chap. xvii. (Finan); chap. xxv. (Colman).

[17] Adamnan: *Life of Columba* (Reeves): 1st mention, *Romana civitas*, Bk. II., chap. xlvii., p. 191; 2nd mention, *Romani juris civitas*, Bk. I., chap. xxii., p. 130; 3rd mention, *Romanam civitatem*, Bk. III., chap. xxiv., p. 218. Adamnan was 9th Abbot after Columba, and ruled from 679 to 704. Macewen is wrong in his statement (*History of Church in Scotland*, p. 87) that "in Adamnan's *Life of Columba* Rome is not mentioned." The Church of Rome never is, but the Roman State is mentioned, as above, three times.

[18] Aidan: He reproduced the simplicity of the Rule of St Columba, when he settled at Lindisfarne, recognising no superior but the Abbot of Iona. Aidan was Abbot of Lindisfarne and for sixteen years extended the Ionic Church among the Angles. His successor Finan was ordained at Iona by the Columbans. Colman succeeded Finan in the Abbacy of Lindisfarne. See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III., chaps. v., xvii., xxv. Aidan at Lindisfarne, 635-651; Finan at Lindisfarne, 651-661; Colman at Lindisfarne, 661-664.

[19] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III., chap. xxvi.

[20] The Tonsure: The Celtic tonsure was from ear to ear. The Roman tonsure was on the crown of the head. "There can be no doubt that the ancient Irish form of tonsure was that stigmatised as the tonsure of Simon Magus, in which all the hair in front of a line drawn over the crown from ear to ear was shaved off or clipt. Hence the old nickname for a Christian cleric *tailcheun*, 313, literally *adze-head*. See Whitley Stokes, *The Lives of the Saints*, from *The Book of Lismore*, preface, p. cxviii.—"Tonsure." Also see above: "The expressions *herrad manaig*, 213, the 'monk's clippings,' which St Patrick is said to have received from Martin of Tours." "Thereafter he (St Patrick) went to Tours to Martin, who put the monachal tonsure upon him." See Whitley Stokes, "Life of St Patrick" in *The Lives of the Saints*, from *The Book of Lismore*, p. 155.

[21] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III., chap. xxiv.

[22] For the authorities, see Preface to Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots.*

[23] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. III., chaps. iv., xvii., xxv.

[24] For origin of parish church and original charter, see Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 19 for the charter, and also note on p. 259. Also: Dowden, *Mediæval Church*, chap. vii., pp. 111-13; Cosmo Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, vol. i., pp. xxv.-xxvii. And *cf.* article on "Coul Castle" (and Church) in *Proc. Antiq. Soc. Scot.*, vol. 1923-1924; also "The English Parish Church," by Samuel Gardner, in Leaflet 57 of *The Historical Association.*

[25] Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, chap. iii., p. 205.

[26] *Aebbercurnig*, i.e. Abercorn, or the place at the mouth of the Cornie Burn, a very small stream still called by that name.

[27] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. IV., chap. xxvi.

[28] Bede, *ibid.*, Bk. V., chap. xxi.

[29] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 277-79.

[30] M'Gibbon and Ross, *Eccles. Architecture of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 178-85.

[31] J. M. MacKinlay, *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland*, chap. xiii., p. 218: Dedications to St Peter at Restennet, Tealing, Invergowrie, Rait, Kilspindie, Meigle, Peterculter, Fyvie, Glenbucket, Rathven, Duthil, Duffus, Drumdelgie, Peterhead: also in Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney, the Hebrides.

[32] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. V., chap. xxiii.

[33] See Chap. XI. under David I. in this work.

[34] Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 113.

[35] *Reg. Prior. St Andreæ.* Fordun, Bk. IV., chap. xii. *Ædificavit Dunkelden.*

[36] A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. i., p. 288, note 7.

[37] "Primus episcopus Fortrenn et Abbas Duincaillenn." See *Chronicle of Picts and Scots*, p. 8. *Annals of Ulster* (865). Haddan and Stubbs, II., i., p. 143. Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 215. See Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 47. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 269.

[38] Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 8.

[39] For history of this stone, see "The Coronation Stone of Scotland," by Geo. Watson in *Proceedings of Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 9th Jan. 1909.

[40] *Ecclesia Scoticana* was first used in the Records of 878. See Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 112.

[41] At the Council of Caelcyth (816), *i.e.* Chelsea; at the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône (813). See also *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, vol. iv., p. 131. Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 70, note.

[42] Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 107-108. Hodgkin, *Political History*, pp. 276-81.

[43] For raid of 794, see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 304; raid of 825, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 300; raid of 986, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 377. Also Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, 1867. E. C. Trenholme, *The Story of Iona*, 1909.

[44] Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 111, 117.

[45] *Chart. Prior. St Andreæ*, p. 115. *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 7. Reeves, *The Culdees*, p. 55.

[46] Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 2-5.

[47] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 38.

[48] Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 125.

[49] By Bishop of St Andrews (*ante* 955); by Macbeth (1040-1057); by Bishop Maldunus (*ante* 1055); by Bishop Tuadal (1055-1059); by Malcolm III. (1070-1093). See Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 4-7 and pp. 228-36.

[50] Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 128.

[51] Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland*, chap. iv., p. 225.

[52] Joseph Robertson, "*Statuta*" *on Secularisation of the Church*, vol. i., preface.

[53] *Reg. Prior. St Andreæ*, pp. 133, 281, 353, 378.

[54] Reeves, *The Culdees*, pp. 107, 109.

[55] "Pro eo quod aliquando beati Cuthberti corpus ibidem quieverat." See *The Book of Deer*, preface, p. clv. Also Symeon of Durham, *Ecclesiastical History*, col. 34. Ap. Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*. The Celtic Churches at first were all built of wood, the *Candida Casa* of St Ninian being an exception.

[56] This refers to St Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine I. (274-337).

[57] He learned English at the Court of Edward the Confessor. (See "*Vita*," chap. viii.)

[58] Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, vol. i., pp. 111-12; and *Surtees Society*, preface to vol. li. Also Chap. IV. of this work. Aldwine was the other monk.

[59] Eadmer, *Historia Novarum*, pp. 121-26. Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, vol. ii., pp. 493-94.

[60] "*Vita*," chap. viii.

[61] See Macewen, *History of Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 158, note 4. Papebroch, the Jesuit, also points out the Queen's inaccuracy here, as the older custom of Lent, to which the Celtic Church adhered, was continued in Milan. A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 71, note 1.

[62] So called after Meton the Athenian, who discovered the lunar cycle of nineteen years, after which the new and full moon happen once more on the same day of the year as at its beginning. Meton lived *c.* 430.

[63] Dionysius Exiguus, born about 500.

[64] See G. H. Moberley, *Bede's History*, p. 195; also Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, pp. 298-324, for details and calculations on Easter, etc.

[65] A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 71, note 2.

[66] Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 190.

[67] Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 249.

[68] *Chart. Prior. St Andreæ*, p. 115.

[69] *Ep. S. Gregorii Magni*, lib. xiii., C. I. opp. II., p. 1214, ed. Bened. Joseph Robertson, Extract from letter of Gregory VII. in *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, vol. i., p. 24. "Hoc etiam Beatus Papa Gregorius affirmat dicens: *Dominico die a labore terreno cessandum est, atque omnimodo orationibus insistendum; ut si quid negligentiæ per sex dies agitur, per diem resurrectionis Dominicæ precibus expietur.* Idem quoque Pater Gregorius, quemdam propter opus terrenum, quod die Dominico fecerat, districta increpatione feriens, eos quorum hoc consiliis egerat, duobus mensibus excommunicatos esse decrevit."

[70] See Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 250-51.

[71] Adamnan, *Life of Columba* (Reeves), p. 96.

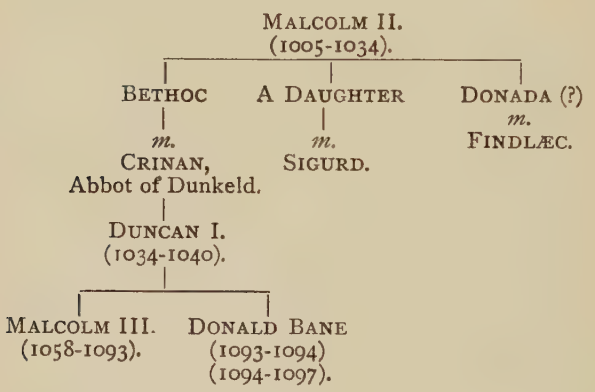
[72] Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 158, note 8. Also *Statuta XXIV.*

[73] Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 133, note G, on "Were the Culdees celibate?"

[74] Giraldus Cambrensis in *Typographia Hibernia*, III., chap. xix.

[75] Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 250.

[76] Malcolm's grandfather was a hereditary lay Abbot of Dunkeld and Seneschal of the Isles, of the kin of St Columba. See Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 280.



[77] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 350.

CHAPTER X

THE RELIGIOUS PASSION OF QUEEN MARGARET, AND HOW IT SHOWED ITSELF IN HER LIFE AND DEATH[1]

I. Her Gracious Acts of Charity

We shall never be able to find out how much personal knowledge Turgot had of Queen Margaret's daily life. He did, however, know her with more or less intimacy. That appears from what he actually records in the "Life," although he may have supplemented his own knowledge with much information received from others. "I have both seen her external works and have known her conscience by her own revealings." These words justify Turgot as the biographer of the Queen.

He then goes on to tell us how she spoke to him in confidence, and how in speaking she was so moved that tears ran down her cheeks until her emotion moved him too.

In church she was most silent and intent in prayer. Prayer and fasting were two of

her religious passions. Indeed, she was so strict in the practice of fasting that she brought upon herself a very serious disease.

This was not an uncommon experience among those who fasted over-much, for we know that St Bernard of Clairvaux was well-nigh dead with fasting, when his most sensible friend William of Champeaux, Bishop of Chalons, interfered. He ordered Bernard to reside in a cottage outside the monastery for a whole year; him freed from monastic restrictions; and gave him special diet. The result was, that with twelve months of this rest cure and special food, the saint was restored to health again, and so this greatest of monks was saved to the whole world.[2] All this was related by an eye-witness who was Bernard's friend and biographer, William of St Thierry.[3]

But there does not appear to have been anyone so to direct the good Queen's austerities. King Malcolm, despite his love for her, was probably far too much taken up with the sterner arts of war and left his saintly consort to her practice of holiness untrammelled. So she plied herself with denials which must have been unheard of at that time for a Queen.

She was herself poorer than all her poor. Wretched men, orphans and widows, flocked to

her for help and were never turned away. Not only did she give away personal gifts of clothing, like a regal Dorcas, but her example was followed by those about her Court and they competed to offer her their belongings.

She even robbed the King's own wardrobe on occasion to clothe some destitute man, a pious theft on her part which Malcolm took most gladly. For example, the King was accustomed to offer specially minted gold coins at Mandate on the Lord's Supper.[4] From these the Queen often made a pious theft for the poor, a holy crime at which the King connived. He knew it, but pretended not to know it. With delight he would seize her hand, find the gold coins, and bring her to Turgot for judgment, accusing her in jest of being a thief.

As was natural, the Saxon slaves in Scotland were her especial care. Indeed, Malcolm's ferocities in war must have been a desperate trial to his gentle wife and Queen. She even restored some of these slaves to liberty by paying their ransom, had secret spies who reported to her as to the condition of her captive countrymen, saw that the harsh treatment they endured was mitigated, sent help to the unfortunate sufferers, and did all that she could to set them free. Even the

prisons in different districts of Scotland, where men were shut up in separate cells, were inspected and visited by the Queen.

But one of these charities is still associated with the Queen's name. She established the Queen's Ferry on the shores of that narrow sea, the Forth, which separates Lothian from the rest of Scotland. The very names of North Queensferry and South Queensferry testify to-day to this ancient charity. For Queen Margaret built dwellings on either shore, hostels of rest, for the pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of St Andrew. In these pilgrim houses she kept attendants who waited upon the need of the poor pilgrims, and even provided ships to carry them across, from Lothian to Fife, free of charge. These grants were confirmed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by later Popes.[5]

There is in existence on the Queensferry Road to-day an interesting relic which may date back to the dim days of this royal Pilgrims' Way. It is called "The Pilgrim Stone"—a double-stepped square stone platform with a socket in the topmost stone for the Cross. This stone platform stands 20 feet above the oldest turnpike road in Linlithgowshire,[6] and at the very highest part of it which was named most appropriately Cross-all Hill.[7] Before the

On the Queensferry Road, Edinburgh.

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present trees were planted, the first uninterrupted view of the Holy Shrine at Dunfermline could be obtained from this spot. Here the pilgrims would rest and pray by the wayside Calvary. Tradition also says that in bringing the body of Queen Margaret from Edinburgh Castle, where she died, her friends rested it here when they came to the pilgrims' praying place.[8] So near to us may an ancient stone bring the far things of history!

A very striking example of Queen Margaret's personal penance is given by Turgot, when he describes her severe ritual of self-denial during the Forty Days before Christmas and the entire season of Lent. When we read this account of her religious zeal, we can all the better understand why she was so anxious to bring the Celtic Church into strict conformity with the ritual of Rome. In this she was only asking her Scots subjects to do what she habitually did herself.

After resting for a short time at the beginning of the night, she entered the church and went through the Matins of the Holy Trinity, then the Matins of the Holy Cross, and lastly the Matins of Our Lady. After finishing these she began the Offices of the Dead, and after these the Psalter. At the proper hour the

priests celebrated morning Lauds and she either concluded the recitation of the Psalter, or, if she had finished, began it again. Only when the Office of Matins and Lauds was finished did she return to her chamber. There she joined the King, and both together washed the feet of six poor persons, giving them something to ease their poverty.[9] Indeed, it was the Chamberlain's duty to bring these poor people in every night before the Queen's arrival, and after the ceremony of the washing she went to take some rest in sleep. Even between the chants, when she was engaged on the Psalms and in prayer, the Queen would do a deed of charity.

But there is another picture of her human kindness which is even more beautiful. After her morning prayers and Psalms she ordered nine little baby orphans to be brought to her. Taking each in turn on her knee, she fed them with soft food specially prepared, made little drinks for them, and used her own spoons. The whole population honoured her for this, for she made herself a servant and the kindest of mothers for Christ's sake.

Three hundred poor people had, meantime, been brought into the royal banqueting hall. When the King and Queen entered, the servants withdrew and closed the doors, leaving only

the Chaplains and certain religious attendants. The King took the one side and the Queen the other, and each waited upon the poor in Christ's name, serving all with food and drink.

Apart from these details of her self-denial which are taken from Turgot's "Life," there is a tradition, which still holds in Fife, that Queen Margaret also sat frequently in the open fields holding a Court for poor folks who might wish to speak to her. On the North Queensferry Road, a little more than a mile from Dunfermline, stood a stone in the form of a seat, which according to local tradition was one of the Queen's seats of judgment. It was marked in old maps as being near the fourteenth mile from Edinburgh, and it was named St Margaret's Stone.[10] It still exists.

Having fed her orphans, she went back to the church, where, with tears and sighs, the penitent Queen offered herself as a sacrifice to God. On these holy days, in addition to the hours of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Mary, she used to repeat the Psalter twice or thrice, and before the celebration of public Mass she had five or six Masses sung privately before her.

Then came her own dining hour, but before eating, she herself fed and waited upon twenty-four poor people. Indeed, in addition to all these

charities, she supported twenty-four people all the year round so long as she lived. Wherever she happened to be staying, these twenty-four alms folk lived also: wherever she went they accompanied her. She herself ate after them, and ate merely enough to preserve her life, but not enough to give her pleasure. Her light repasts provoked hunger rather than satisfied it: she tasted rather than consumed food. Always an ascetic, with a feeble body, the Queen inflicted herself with incredible abstinence during the Forty Days before Christmas and the Forty Days of Lent.

The result was inevitable. Because of this excessive rigour and fasting, she suffered to the end of her life from an acute pain in her stomach. Yet all this infirmity of body did not impair her strength to do good works, to read sacred books, to be instant in prayer, and to do perpetual deeds of charity. Indeed, she accepted her bodily suffering with patience and thanksgiving as the scourging of the gentlest of Fathers.

All this might very well appear to the modern mind as religious fiction if we could not corroborate these ascetic details by referring to the lives of other saintly persons. It will suffice to return to St Bernard again. He was the last to make a magnificent

attempt to bring back monasticism to the Benedictine Ideal in all its severity and holiness. In some respects, living immediately after Saint Margaret as he did, his experience repeats the Queen's; for she, after all, was just enduring in her body what all saintly monks endured with an ecstatic willingness. St Bernard passed his days in absorbed contemplation. Seeing, he saw not. Hearing, he heard not. He scarcely retained any taste for food, and could hardly perceive anything by any sense of the body.[11] Even time given to sleep he regarded as lost. He stopped his ears with wads of flax and buried his head in his cowl lest he should hear worldly conversation. He lost all desire for food: the thought of it gave him pain. A weakness of stomach brought on by these severities made him scarcely able to retain any aliment. What he did digest seemed rather to defer death than to sustain life.[12] Yet, when his body did break down under the unfair strain which his excessive denial put upon it, we must always respect the scars of such a noble infirmity.[13]

In this sense, Queen Margaret's "Life" is a true life, else we must deny these same marks of Christ in all the saints.

One thing Turgot makes very clear. He esteemed Margaret far more for her works

of mercy than for any reputed miracles. Indeed, he makes mention of none. But, he adds very significantly, "I leave it to others to admire the signs of miracles which they see elsewhere—I admire much more the works of mercy which I perceived in Margaret. Signs are common to the good and the bad, but works of true piety and love are peculiar to the good. The former sometimes are the proof of holiness, the latter are that which constitutes it. Let us, then, I repeat, admire in Margaret the actions which made her a saint rather than the miracles which, had we any record of them, would have proved that she was one. . . . Yet it will not be out of place if I here narrate one incident which may go to prove what the holiness of her life was."

It was common in mediæval times to relate miracles of any great saint, but Margaret lived in a century when the cult for miracles was just beginning to reach a certain popularity. For example, the first methodical collections of miracles of Our Lady date from the eleventh century.[14] There is a certain hesitancy on Turgot's part about mentioning any miracles. He almost seems to apologise for having none to relate. He rather lays stress on Margaret's good deeds. And yet, he now goes on to relate a miracle in connection with her Gospel

Book. This brings us to consider one of the most ancient and interesting Gospel Books which exists in our land to-day.

II. The Story of Her Gospel Book.

The Gospel Book of Queen Margaret is perhaps one of the most remarkable proofs remaining to us of her religious passion.

"She had a Book of the Gospels beautifully adorned with gold and precious stones, and ornamented with the figures of the Four Evangelists, decorated with painting interspersed with gold. All the capital letters throughout the volume were radiant with gold. This volume she had always cherished very dearly, more so than any of the others which she usually read."

These words of Turgot refer to the Gospel Book of the Queen, about which he relates a miracle. It is intensely interesting to know that this book almost certainly exists to-day.[15]

The story of the miracle, as Turgot relates it, is as follows :—

The attendant who carried the precious book, was on one occasion crossing a stream. While in the middle of the river, he let the book fall out of the covering in which it was carefully wrapped. Not being aware of the loss, the

man continued on his journey; but when he wished to produce the book, suddenly he realised that he had lost it. He searched for it everywhere, but could not find it. At last it was discovered lying at the bottom of the stream. Its leaves were kept constantly in motion by the current of the river, but the little leaves of silk,[16] which had covered the golden letters to prevent them from being dimmed by friction with the vellum, were carried off by the force of the stream.

In ordinary circumstances a book thus soaked in water would have been of little value afterwards, and the letters would have become invisible. But when the Queen's Psalter Book was rescued from the middle of the river it was found to be practically uninjured, as if it had never been touched by the water. The white vellum and the lettering throughout remained exactly as they had been before it had fallen into the water. Only on parts of the last leaves could the mark of moisture be seen. The book was then returned to the Queen, and the miracle was related to her. She immediately gave thanks to Christ, and valued her Gospel Book more than ever. "Whatever others think," adds Turgot, "I, for my part, believe that this wonder was worked by Our Lord out of

love for the venerable Queen." But a mediæval monk was very credulous about miracles.

Reports of miracles of this kind were not uncommon in mediæval times. Books written by St Columba were invested with a similar power to resist the action of water. For example, a Book of Hymns for the Office of every day in the week written by Columba once fell into a river in Leinster. It lay in the water from the Feast of the Nativity till the end of the Paschal Season, and was afterwards found by some women on the bank of the river in its satchel.[17] The satchel belonged to a priest called Iogenan. On opening the satchel, Iogenan found the book uninjured and as clean and dry as if it had been all the time in his desk. Similar miracles were said to have happened to several books which were written by the hand of Columba.[18]

It is also related of the Gospel Book of St Kieranus, that it fell into the lake from the hand of one of the brethren who held it carelessly when voyaging. For a long time it was under the water and could not be found. But on a certain summer day, when the heat was great, the cows entered the lake to refresh themselves in the waters. As the cows were leaving the lake, the binding of the leather

satchel containing the Gospel Book caught about the hoof of a cow, and so the cow dragged the book satchel on her hoof to land. The Gospel Book was found in the rotten leather satchel perfectly dry and clean, without any moisture on it, as though it had been preserved in a bookcase.[19] These are interesting legends, but to relate them is by no means to accept them.

As there is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to-day a Gospel Book which is almost certainly this original Gospel Book of Queen Margaret, it will be best at this stage to give an account of this precious manuscript and of how it came there. The whole story is told by Mr Falconer Madan in his *Books in Manuscript*,[20] and also by W. Forbes Leith, S.J., F.S.A. Scot., in his introduction to a very beautiful facsimile which he published of this rare volume.[21]

When Queen Margaret died in 1093 her precious Gospel Book would, according to the common custom of the time, be placed either in her tomb or enclosed in the shrine which contained her relics. We know that in 1250 the body of the saintly Queen was taken from the grave within Dunfermline Abbey and placed in a silver shrine adorned with jewels, which was deposited beneath the High Altar of the church.[22] But there is no mention by contemporaries of her Gospel Book.

In 1675, an ecclesiastic called Father Lesles[23] told how her shrine was still the object of great veneration until the Reformation. But at that time of revolution the shrine was plundered, although the relics were not destroyed. The saintly Margaret's head was brought to Edinburgh Castle[24] at the request of Queen Mary in 1567—herself a strict Roman Catholic—who had taken up her residence there to avoid danger on the eve of giving birth to her son. According to Father Lesles, several other valuables and sacred things were transferred to the Castle at the same time. But when Queen Mary fled to England the head of Saint Margaret was transferred to the house of the Laird of Durie or Dury in Fife, and there for some time it was preserved by a Benedictine monk. From Durie it was taken by a Jesuit missionary,[25] called John Robie, to Belgium and exposed for veneration at Antwerp long afterwards by Bishop John Malder.[26] It was then removed to the Scots College at Douai,[27] where it remained until the French Revolution, when it disappeared.[28] In 1785, the historian Carruthers saw it at Douai in a good state of preservation with a quantity of fair hair still on it.[29] Still there was no mention or trace of the Gospel Book.

In 1888, however, there came to light a book

which had been in the parish library of Brent-Ely in Suffolk. It was a little octavo volume of manuscript in shabby brown binding, and was advertised for sale on 26th July 1887 in Sotheby's catalogue as "The Four Gospels —a manuscript on vellum of the fourteenth century, illuminated in gold and colours, from the Brent-Ely Library."

This manuscript was purchased by the authorities of the Bodleian Library,[30] Oxford, for the sum of £6.

When the book was examined, experts declared that the style of writing was of the eleventh century and that the illuminated pages displayed very valuable old English work. Further, there was discovered on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the manuscript a poem written in Latin hexameters, and this poem, Mr Madan maintained, was written in a hand which might be of date 1090, or a little later.[31]

The poem tells how the book was the property of a King and a holy Queen; that a servant had let it fall into a river while crossing a ford; that it lay there for a long time until a knight (*Miles*) discovered it, and that not a mark was left on the painted pages except on two leaves at the end.

This story of the Bodleian purchase happened to be told to a lady[32] who remembered the

similar incident described in Turgot's *Life of Queen Margaret*, and the identity of the book was practically established.[83] On comparing the story in the poem with the story told in the "Life," they were found to tally in every detail. So this little book, with its style and ornamentation of the Canute period, was identified as the Gospel Book which Queen Margaret valued more highly than all her other books.[84]

There are various reasons which support the theory that Turgot wrote the poem. He would naturally add it after the Queen's death when the book came into his hands. In that case this poem-leaf would not bear marks of being injured by water. And what are the facts? There is no mark of water on the poem-leaf, and the poem is written in another hand from that which wrote the Gospel Book. It is also written on a different kind of vellum. But the first page of the original book and the three last pages are distinctly crinkled by water. All this goes to show that the poem-page was added later, written by some one who knew the whole history of the book, and written by a different hand from that of the original scribe.

This is not the place to give an account of every detail of the manuscript. It is sufficient

to say that the illuminations and the text itself, which is written in a beautiful minuscule hand,[85] are of the same period as the Canute Gospels in the British Museum[86]—that is, of the early eleventh century. Margaret in all probability, therefore, acquired this Gospel Book when she was resident at the Court of Eadward the Confessor (1057-1066) and would naturally bring it to Scotland with her when she married Malcolm Canmore. Such Gospel portions were not uncommon in the service of the Church during the last part of the Anglo-Saxon period, and Queen Margaret's Gospel Book should be compared with two others of Anglo-Saxon origin which still exist, the Gospels of Wadham College (1012-1030), and the Gospel Book of Bishop Ethelstan of Hereford (1012-1056).[87]

At the beginning of each Gospel there is a full-page illumined figure of the Evangelist seated very awkwardly, with his own Gospel in his hand or on a bookstand, and his feet resting on a most uncomfortable-looking stool. These quaint figures are after the manner of the Greek or Byzantine art which was common in European manuscripts of the early and mediæval period.[88] The Evangelists are dressed in robes of dull colours,[89] St Matthew in bluish-green, St Mark in red and gold, St Luke in

green and red, and St John in greenish robes. The first pages in all the four Gospels as well as the pictorial pages are illumined in gold, and little gold initials are interspersed throughout the Gospels. Until about the twelfth century gold was laid on in powder and had a dull ruddy appearance,[40] which is very different from the burnished gold of the later twelfth century.[41] It is interesting as an argument for Turgot's authorship of the poem and Queen Margaret's ownership of this Gospel Book to note that this ruddy glow of the gold on the pages struck the author of the "*Vita*" when he wrote: "*Capitalis quæque littera auro tota rutilabat*"—"Each capital letter shone all over with the ruddy glow of gold."

It only remains to add the Latin poem which is inscribed on the folio[42] of the manuscript, the original Latin having the old contracted forms.[43]

"Christe tibi semper grates persolvimus omnes,
Tempore qui nostro nobis miracula pandis.
Hunc librum quidam inter se jurare volentes
Sumpserunt nudum sine tegmine nonque ligetum
Presbyter accipiens ponit sinuamine vestes:
Flumine transmisso codex est mersus in amnem;
Portitor ignorat librum penetrasse profundum,
Sed miles quidam cernens post multa momenta
Tollere jam voluit librum de flumine mersum,
Sed titubat subito librum dum vidit apertum,
Credens quod codex ex toto perditus esset.

At tamen inmittens undis corpus cum vertice summo.
Hoc evangelium profert de gurgite apertum.
O virtus clara cunctis, O gloria magna!
Inviolatus enim codex permansit ubique,
Exceptis foliis binisque cernis utrinque,
In quibus ex undis paret contractio quedam,
Que testantur opus Christi pro codice sancto.
Hoc opus ut nobis maius mirabile constet
De medio libri pannum lini abtulit unda.
Salvati semper sint Rex Reginaque sancta,
Quorum codex erat nuper salvatus ab undis,
Gloria magna Deo, librum qui salvat eundem."

The poet, after thanking Christ for "displaying miracles to us in our own days, describes how this very volume had been carried by a priest, in the folds of his robe, to a trysting place, in order that a binding oath might be taken on it; but that unfortunately it had been dropped, without the priest observing it, into a river, and given up for lost. But a knight of the party discovered it, plunged headfirst into the river, and brought it up. To everyone's intense surprise, the beautiful volume was entirely uninjured, except two leaves, which you see at each end, in which a slight contraction appears from the effect of the water, which testify the work of Christ in protecting the sacred volume. That this work might appear to us still more wonderful, the wave washed from the middle of the book a

leaf of silk. May the King and pious Queen be saved for ever, whose book was but now saved from the waves."[48]

Whether Turgot actually wrote this poem or only inspired it, no one will ever be able to say with certainty. But these verses could not have been written very long after the events recorded. Indeed, the expressions *tempore nostro* (line 2), *nobis* (lines 2 and 19) and *nuper* (line 22) make it impossible that the poem should have been written after 1100. Turgot may have composed the poem himself. But it is apparent that the anonymous scribe began to compose in prose. After writing only two lines, or perhaps when he had been checked for this error by the composer who was dictating the poem, he began to write the rest of the composition correctly. It is therefore very doubtful if the scribe was the poet.

If this is the actual Gospel Book which was the daily companion of Queen Margaret and the most precious of all her holy books, and it is difficult to doubt it, there is one circumstance which brings the lips of Malcolm III. of Scotland very near to us as we handle it. For in the "*Vita*" of Turgot we read that the King "although ignorant of letters used often to handle and gaze on the books in which she had been accustomed either to pray or to read;

and when he had heard from her which of them was dearest to her, he held it dearer too, kissed it, and fondled it often."

Thus we touch the very symbol of Queen Margaret's whole life and religion to-day when we hold this precious Gospel Book in our hands.

III. Last Days and Death.

Towards the end of her life the Queen seems to have had a presentiment of death. She spoke to Turgot privately and related to him the events of her life, weeping copiously during the conversation.[44]

This may have been a sign of her physical condition, which was doubtless greatly debilitated by her lifelong fasting. Her remorse, too, seems to have been great.

In bidding Turgot farewell, she predicted that he would live a long time after her, and she made two requests of him. First, he was to say life-long Masses for her soul; and second, he was to take care of her six sons and two daughters, teaching them in love to fear God. She foresaw great place and power for her sons, and in this she was right.

It was a solemn hour, and she reminded Turgot, that at the time of making this last request there were only three persons present,

God, Turgot, and herself. Then followed a flood of tears as her confessor promised faithfully to do as she wished.

This last farewell very probably took place in the royal palace on the Castle Rock at Edinburgh, for she died there. If, however, as one authority states,[45] the interview took place six months before her death, her last requests to Turgot may have been expressed at the Palace of Dunfermline. When the sad conversation was over, Turgot bade the Queen farewell, returned home, and never saw her again.[46]

After that, her disease, whatever it was, seems to have reduced her rapidly to the last extremity, and her illness attacked her with redoubled violence. For the actual story of her death we are indebted to her priest, who passed on the details to Turgot. Who this private chaplain was, we shall never know. He was evidently greatly beloved by the Queen for his simplicity, innocence, and chastity. Indeed, after his royal mistress died he gave himself up to the perpetual service of Christ for the sake of her soul. Turgot often questioned him about the circumstances of the royal death scene, and what the chaplain told to Turgot is recorded in the "*Vita*" most minutely.

For six months she was never able to sit on horseback, and seldom rose from her bed. This

makes it certain that her death took place in the Palace of the King at Edinburgh. The King, however, despite his love for her, could not restrain his old animosity against his enemies south of the Border, and went off on what proved to be his last and fifth raid of punishment and plunder.[47]

Exactly four days before she died, the Queen had a presentiment of calamity and said to her priest, "Perhaps on this very day such a great calamity may befall the realm of Scotland as has not happened for many ages past." She had warned the King not to go on this raid, but he paid no heed to her advice, and in a few days a messenger arrived to say that the King had been slain on the very day the Queen had expressed a presentiment of calamity.

When the fourth day arrived[48] after the slaying of the King, she was able to enter the oratory to hear Mass. The oratory was the chapel which she had built on the Castle Rock —the oldest building in Edinburgh to-day— which is still known as St Margaret's Chapel. Here she partook of the holy Viaticum of the Body and Blood of the Lord. She then returned to her bed, her pains increased, and her malady rapidly sapped her vitality. When at last she was pale with death, she commanded that the Black Cross[49] should be

brought to her, as she had always held it in great veneration.

This famous Black Rood of Scotland was made of pure gold set with large diamonds. It was about an ell long, of the most beautiful workmanship, and could be opened and shut like a chest.[50] Inside was a portion of Christ's own Cross, with a figure of the Saviour sculptured out of ivory and adorned with gold. Queen Margaret had doubtless brought this remnant of the royal Saxon treasury with her when she was fleeing to Scotland from the Norman invaders. It was therefore a very sacred heirloom, and the vital importance of the Black Rood may be gauged by its subsequent history.

When David I., Margaret's youngest son, founded his Abbey near the Castle of Edinburgh in 1128, it is recorded at least by one chronicler[51] that he built this great church for the Black Rood and called the Abbey Holyrood. That, however, is not corroborated by the statements of others. We find curious light thrown upon this foundation of Holyrood by the fact, that excavations made there by Mr W. T. Oldrieve of H.M. Office of Works in 1910-1911 revealed the discovery[52] of the foundations of an earlier church of much smaller dimensions which must have existed on the same site before David

founded the Abbey of Holyrood. But it has been pointed out as remarkable, that no mention of this previous church was made in the foundation charter.[53] It was, however, by no means uncommon to found one church on the ancient site of another. If this original church was a Celtic one, David without doubt would venerate the holy site because it was of religious significance; but he might very well ignore all mention of it in the Title of Holyrood because, like his pious mother Queen Margaret, he had done his utmost to suppress the Celtic ritual which was in so many instances at variance with the Roman form.

But, as the Black Rood was in the royal treasury at Edinburgh in 1291,[54] it would not be safe to infer that David gave it to Holyrood, for it was evidently carried about with him, as the story of his death at Carlisle indicates. So it is safer to suggest that the Rood may have led David to give the Abbey its particular name.

In course of time, however, a legend regarding the origin of the Abbey of the Holy Rood sprang up and was ultimately embodied in the old Service Book of the Abbey, or *The Holyrood Ordinale* as it has been called.[55] This Ordinale was probably written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the legend

was repeated in Bellenden's translation of Boece's History of Scotland.[56] The story is as follows :—

David, on the day of the Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross was persuaded, against the advice of Alwyn his confessor, to join a number of his younger barons in a hunting expedition in the forest of Drumselch, which in the twelfth century swept from the Borough Moss round to Holyrood. On reaching the valley below what is now called Salisbury Crags, the King found himself separated from his companions. He was attacked by a great stag which threw him to the ground. The King seized the antlers of the stag; they suddenly came away; and he found himself grasping a Cross, at the sight of which the stag fled. The conscience-stricken King thereafter had a dream in which he was admonished for his sins to build an Abbey on the scene of his great deliverance. This story, which is typical of many other monkish legends, was probably invented 200 years after the King's death in order to surround the origin of the Abbey of Holyrood with a holy mystery.

Whether, therefore, the Black Rood of Queen Margaret had anything to do with the founding of Holyrood Abbey or not, it is quite certain that the Scots venerated this sacred relic with

an awe which almost amounted to fear. When it was not being carried about by the Sovereigns of Scotland on their expeditions, it probably found a home in the royal treasury on the Castle Rock of Edinburgh.

David I. died at Carlisle on 24th May 1153,[57] and his biographer, Ailred of Rievaulx, tells us that, after hearing Mass, the King asked that the Black Rood might be brought to him for adoration.[58] This shows us that David was accustomed to carry the Black Rood about with him.

The next reference to the Black Rood is in 1291, when it appears in a catalogue dated 23rd August 1291, along with other articles which were removed by Edward I. to England from the royal treasury of Scotland.[59] By this time it had been enclosed in a second case of silver-gilt. Edward, thereafter took the Black Rood to Scotland and forced certain of the leading Scots to swear allegiance to him on it—men like Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews.

In 1328, under the Treaty of Northampton, the English renounced their claim of superiority over Scotland, and Edward III. through his mother, then Regent, restored "the part of the Cross of Christ which the Scots called the Black Rood."[60] But the chronicler adds

this significant word—"the Stone of Scone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to be crowned at Scone, the people of London would in no wise permit to be returned."[61]

Then on 17th October 1346, King David II. was defeated and taken prisoner by the English at the Battle of Neville's Cross near Durham. He had taken the Black Rood with him as a talisman, and it fell into the hands of the English on the field. It was, thereafter, placed in the Cathedral of Durham, where it rested until 1540, when that great church was suppressed by King Henry VIII. In the riots that followed, the Black Rood disappeared, and from that date nothing was heard again about the famous Black Rood of Scotland.

This brief account of the Black Rood shows us that the holy relic was not only venerated in worship, but that it was evidently greatly valued both by the Scottish Kings and the English Kings as a kind of mascot of victory.

The dying Queen having made her adoration before the Black Rood, her son Eadgar[62] returned from the army and entered his mother's death chamber. He came to tell her that Malcolm the King, her husband, and Eadward her son, had been slain. The Queen at that moment was lying in an agony and was supposed by those present to be dead. But

she suddenly rallied and spoke to her son. When she asked for news of her husband and son, Eadgar, being afraid to hasten her death, told her that they were well. But she only sighed deeply and said, "I know, I know, my son. Tell me the truth, by this Holy Cross, and by our nearness to each other."[63] So he was compelled to tell her what had happened. Then raising her eyes and her hands, she broke into praise. She knew that death was at hand. She began to recite the prayer which is usually said by the priest before he receives the Lord's Body and Blood, "Lord Jesus Christ, who according to the will of the Father, through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by Thy Death given life to the world, deliver me."[64]

As she was saying the words "deliver me," her soul was freed from the body. It seemed as if she were not dead, but sleeping, so calm and tranquil was her away-going. Her body was then shrouded as became a Queen. It was borne to the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, which she herself had built, and the saintly Queen was buried opposite the Altar and the Cross.

The little Chapel of Queen Margaret on the Castle Rock of Edinburgh[65] is not only the oldest building to be found inside the walls

of the Edinburgh Castle, but in all probability it is the oldest building which exists within the city itself.[66] The preservation of this unique oratory is doubtless due to two facts, that it is built on one of the very highest parts of the Castle Rock, and that from the time of its foundation it was guarded with pious care by the Kings of Scotland right down to the time of the Reformation.

But when we come to investigate the exact date of its building, we have to admit that there are no contemporary documents whatever to aid us in our investigation. In these circumstances it would be unwise to dogmatise about the age of the chapel. It has, of course, been asserted again and again that this is the actual building where Queen Margaret was accustomed to pray, but for this statement we have nothing to go upon but tradition, and here, as elsewhere, historical fact must ever take precedence over sentiment.

What, then, is the circumstantial evidence for the age of Queen Margaret's chapel?

Architectural opinion to-day restricts the period of the principal parts of the building to the time of Queen Margaret's son, David I., the great ecclesiastical benefactor, who died in 1153. We must not, however, forget that Margaret herself was a builder of churches,

for she erected the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline, and she restored the Monastery at Iona.[67] The chapel, moreover, is distinctly of the Norman type of architecture, and Queen Margaret welcomed the Norman clergy to Scotland. She corresponded with Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, who built there a new Cathedral in the Norman style on the site of the old Christ Church Monastery.[68]

In this connection, it is very significant that Lanfranc in writing to the Queen says in the latter part of his letter: "According to thy request, I send to thy glorious husband and thee our dearest brother, Sir Goldwine, also two other brothers, because he could not fulfil in himself alone all that ought to be done in God's service and yours. I ask, too, and ask earnestly, that you should endeavour resolutely and effectively to complete what you have begun, for God and for your souls. And if you can, or wish to fulfil your work through others, we would greatly desire that these our brothers should return to us, because they were very necessary to our Church in their services."

Might not this all point to the fact that Goldwine and the other brothers were expert builders sent on loan to the Queen by

Lanfranc for the purpose of erecting churches in Scotland? The conjecture, at least, is interesting.

The Queen's whole interest, as we have already seen, was centred in the renascence of Roman Religion which was so largely associated with the coming of the Normans to England. So she would naturally prefer the new Norman architecture to the old Romanesque style of the Celtic Church in Scotland—a Church which she was determined to convert to the purely Roman ritual. If, then, as tradition has it, she did build this little chapel on the Castle Rock, it must have been the earliest expression of her knowledge of the new and simple Norman style. King David, her son, without doubt, would revere this praying chapel of his saintly mother, and nothing is likelier than that, after her death, he made alterations on it with a view to adding to its beauty.

Let us, therefore, take these traditional conjectures and investigate them in the light of what the chapel itself has to tell us. For, after all, the walls of Queen Margaret's chapel themselves are the real sources from which we can learn its story.

This chapel is mentioned again and again in documents between the time of David I.

and the Reformation. There is, for example, a reference in a Charter of King Robert III. which was executed on 3rd December 1390. Barbour also in the "Story of the Brus" makes another reference to

> "Sanct Margaret the gud holy Quene
> . . . . . in hir chapell."

That poem was written about 1375, for Barbour assigns that year as "the tym of the compiling of this buik." In the Exchequer Rolls also, there are various references to the two chapels of the Virgin Mary and Saint Margaret at the Castle, for the Castle chaplain seems to have officiated now in the one and now in the other. But these references in the Exchequer Rolls to these two chapels end abruptly in the latter part of the fifteenth century.[69] It is, however, no part of our purpose here to give a complete list of such references.[70] Our point is, that the chapel was well known up to the time of the Reformation.

After the Reformation the chapel fell into disuse, and for a long period seems to have been altogether forgotten. But Sir Daniel Wilson, when pursuing researches in Edinburgh Castle in 1845[71] was told by the garrison chaplain of a small baptismal font lying in one of the vaults. With some

difficulty he gained access to a powder magazine on the Argyle Battery. The only light was derived from a small window in the west wall, and in the dim chamber he was able to identify, not a font, but what proved to be one of the sockets for the pillars of the chancel arch of a small Norman chapel. A wooden floor which divided the nave into two stories was on a level with the spring of the arch, and so the nature of the ecclesiastical building was concealed. Gunpowder was stored in the apse; the little round-headed window on its south side was built up; and the garrison chapel, a plain, unsightly modern building, which then stood immediately to the east, effectively blocked up the central window. In a volume of drawings and engravings which Sir Daniel presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1867, there is a sketch of this so-called font, which was really the socket of the pillar on the north side of the chancel arch. Thus, after an extraordinary period of obscurity and vandal treatment, Sir Daniel Wilson rediscovered the chapel of Saint Margaret in the year 1845. Its very existence was unknown to Dr Robert Chambers when Sir Daniel told him of it—which shows how utterly the chapel had become lost to public knowledge.[72]

In 1866, plans[73] were drawn by Sir Henry Dryden which represent the building as it appears to-day. The heavy-looking porch is, however, an addition which unfortunately has covered up the ancient doorway. But that old doorway was still visible in the time of Sir Daniel Wilson.

Viewed from without, the chapel seems a very small and modest building—31 feet 7 inches in length from east to west, with a width of 16 feet at the east end, and only 14 feet 4 inches at the west end.[74] This irregularity, together with the smallness of the chapel, would seem to point to great antiquity.

In Queen Margaret's day, the entrance to the citadel was by a flight of steps on the north side, known afterwards as the "Lang Stairs." The top of this stairway was described in 1488 as "Saint Margaret's Yett."[75]

The roadway on the south side has very evidently been lowered by several feet, and on the east and west sides of the chapel the bare rock on which it stands has been cut away; so on the east, south, and west sides, underpinning has been necessary.

Dr Thomas Ross gives us an interesting description of the masonry.[76] He tells us that the masonry here is of a much more modern nature than Norman masonry. "The genuine

surviving Norman masonry begins below the line of the south windows. The first two or three courses, which extend up to the sills of the south windows, are built of reddish stone, above which are five courses of a bluish grey stone, the upper course being above the windows. All the masonry above that level on the south and north sides is later work. The masonry of the north and east sides has been greatly interfered with, as has also that of the west end, where, however, there are several consecutive Norman courses. The east wall appears to have been carried to a greater height than the other walls, as if some higher building had been attached to the chapel.[77]

But when we step inside the chapel there is further evidence of a date. The interior is much more ornamental and shows a more developed form of plan. The whole interior length measures 27 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from east to west. The nave is wagon-vaulted. There is a chancel arch, and the chancel itself has an apse which is roofed over with a vault forming the quadrant of a dome. In the restoration of 1853, which was carried out under the supervision of Sir Daniel Wilson, the roof of the apse was evidently cemented over and the masonry on the roof of the nave was renewed. On the north side of the chancel there are indications

of a narrow doorway for the use of a priest. This has now been built up and forms an ambry. A square-headed doorway has also been cut through the west wall. This was probably done in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The present porch in front of the entrance door on the north side near the west end is quite modern, although the doorway itself is ancient.[78] There are three little windows on the south side, one of them in the chancel. There is another at the east end, and still another at the west end, but at a much higher level than the rest. All the windows are round, arched, splayed widely on the inside and slightly on the outside, measuring 2 feet high by 8 inches wide. Mr Douglas Strachan has recently filled in the windows with glowing glass.

The chancel arch is only 9 feet in height, with an opening of 5 feet 1 inch, and there is only one step. The arch is in two corresponding orders, decorated with the usual chevron design. Each jamb has two monolithic shafts set in nooks with cushion cups. Enclosing the arch is a moulding with a lozenge pattern, but on the chancel side the arch is quite plain. Had the arch been of the same date as the original walls, the jambs on which it rests would have been built in or bonded to the side walls. But the jambs are

simply built *against* the north and south walls of the chapel. The arch, therefore, has been an after-thought, and was in all probability inserted by the restorer who rebuilt or altered the outer walls.

What, then, are the inferences which we may legitimately draw from these facts, in the absence of any authentic historical documents?

There can be no doubt that had the chapel been wholly erected in the eleventh century, it would have been of a much ruder style of architecture.[79]

Leading authorities on architecture[80] are agreed that the chancel arch is characteristic of the time of David I., who died in 1153.

The obvious conclusion, therefore, is, that the chapel existed in a more primitive state prior to that reign (1124-1153). Are we to assert or doubt, then, that the original founder of this little chapel was Queen Margaret herself, and that its restorer was her son, David I.?

But much took place between her death in Edinburgh Castle and her burial in Dunfermline.

Immediately after the Queen's death in Edinburgh Castle,[81] the Castle Rock was besieged by Donald Ban and a large force, before her body could be removed. So the Queen's friends carried the body out secretly

by a postern and lowered it down the steep rock on the western side during a dense mist. After this perilous venture, they carried it safely by the Queen's own "Pilgrim Way" to the Ferry and brought it to Dunfermline.

We are told by Fordun in the same passage that Eadgar Aetheling, the Queen's brother, the moment the King and Queen were dead, took all the sons and daughters of Malcolm and Margaret to England for safety.[82] If this was true, it might be thought that Turgot would have mentioned it. But, on the contrary, it would not have been politic for the English Prior to record the details of this siege, for it only proved how bitterly the Scots still resented the Saxon domination of the Aetheling Queen and the extraordinary influence she had exerted over the Church and Court of her royal husband's country. Subsequent facts proved this.

Was there not an immediate claimant for the Crown in the person of Donald Ban, the dead King's younger brother, who actually ascended the throne and reigned from 1093 to 1094.[83] Were not many of the English who had been with Malcolm III. driven out of the land by the Scots after his death?[84] Did not Duncan II.—Malcolm Canmore's son by his first Queen, Ingibiorg—depose his uncle Donald Ban about 12th May 1094,[85] and reign for six

months, only to be followed on the throne by Donald Ban again from 1094 to 1097? For it was not until that year (1097) that Margaret's son Eadgar came to the throne at last.

All this turmoil which took place in the four years which followed the death of Malcolm and Margaret shows us clearly that the Scots were by no means reconciled as yet to the Southern influence of which Queen Margaret was the very embodiment. So it was only natural, that after the Queen's death in the Castle of the Maidens her body should be taken secretly to her own shrine at Dunfermline.

And how came Malcolm the King to his death? William the Conqueror had died six years before, and William II. reigned in his stead. Malcolm must have had a grievance against him, else he would never have raided Northumberland in 1093 against the entreaties of his dying wife. He had got as far as Alnwick, when in an ambush Earl Robert of Mowbray fell on the Scots King, and Malcolm was killed along with his son and heir Eadward. The actual slayer of Malcolm was Morel, Earl Robert's nephew, who was the guardian of Bamburgh Castle.[86] Part of the army fell by the sword, and part of it was carried away by the flooded river Alne. Two countrymen placed the body of the King on a cart and

buried it at Tynemouth.[87] Thus ended Malcolm Canmore's long reign of thirty-five years.

The Northumbrians regarded him as a barbarous and ruthless raider, and attributed all the finer qualities of his character to the gentle and holy influence of his religious Queen. But, at least, he secured for the Kingdom of the Scots a borderline on the South which they never really lost again.[88] According to the testimony of St Berchan, he was

> "A King the best who possessed Alban;
> He was a King of Kings fortunate.
> He was a vigilant crusher of enemies.
> No woman bore or will bring forth in the East
> A King whose rule will be greater over Alban;
> And there shall not be born for ever
> One who had more fortune and greatness."[89]

And yet we cannot but recall a very peaceful scene in Northumberland not long before the tragic death of Malcolm Canmore. It was at the laying of the foundation stone of the church at Durham in 1093 on the third day before the Ides of August—that is, on Thursday 11th August.[90] On that day William II. of England, Malcolm III., King of Scots, and Prior Turgot, all took some part in the laying of the foundation stone of the new church which was to become one of the greatest in England.[91]

But although we have no very clear account of what caused the rupture between the two Kings, yet William Rufus, immediately after, must have irritated Malcolm into open hostility. It may have been the breaking of a promise on William's part. For in the early part of this same year, at Lent, William was so ill at Gloucester that he was reported to be dead.[92] Like many another sick and sorry man, he promised to lead a better life; to treat the churches better, and to make better laws. After this, Malcolm, King of Scots, asked that some stipulated conditions, which William had made during his sickness, should be observed, and William Rufus asked Malcolm Canmore to come to Gloucester. When he arrived, the English King, who was now a recovered man, would not even receive the King of Scots.[93] Malcolm, who was not a tender man, returned home, gathered his troops, invaded England, and ravaged the country.[94] Then it was that in an ambush he was slain by Morel of Bamburgh, Earl Mowbray's steward and godsib or "gossip."[95] William's unfaithfulness in keeping his promise to Malcolm is plainly hinted at by the English chroniclers.[96]

And yet when William heard that Malcolm, his father's old enemy, was slain, he was evidently greatly incensed against Earl Robert

de Mowbray, whom he held responsible. For later on, when William had suppressed the feudal rebellion of Earl Mowbray, he cast him into prison and allowed him to lie there until he died.[97] Kings might be enemies, but the killing of one of them along with his eldest son was bitterly resented by the other.

Malcolm being dead, his saintly Queen Margaret was now the link that bound England to Scotland, for Henry, the brother of William II., was married to Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret. Indeed it was said by many that William Rufus inflicted the penalty of life-long imprisonment on Robert de Mowbray because he had guilefully killed the King of Scotland, the father of the most noble Princess Matilda, who was yet to become the Queen of the English.[98]

REFERENCES.

[1] For the facts stated about Queen Margaret in this section, see "*Vita*," chaps. ix., x., xi., xii., xiii.

[2] Cotter Morison, *Life and Times of St Bernard*, Bk. I., chap. iii., pp. 30-32.

[3] *St Bernard*, Op. vol. ii., col. 1076.

[4] Maundy Thursday, *i.e.* the Thursday of Holy Week. *Dies mandati:* the day of washing the feet of the poor. The anthem "Mandatum novum" was sung (St John xiii., 34). This was a very ancient custom in the Eastern and Western Churches. There was a distribution of "doles" placed in baskets called *maunds*. In England the number of doles distributed is reckoned by the years of the monarch, their value being 1d. for each year of the sovereign's life.

[5] Free ferrying "at the Queen's ship" was one of the privileges of the Canons of St Andrews in 1183 (St Andrews No. 57). Pope Lucius III. confirmed "half of St Margaret, the Queen's ferry" (*dimidium passagii S. Margarete Regine*), *i.e.* North Queensferry, to Abbot Archibald and the Monastery of Dunfermline on 19th October 1184 (Dunfermline No. 239). Pope Innocent III. in 1211 confirmed the right of the Queen's ferry (*passagium regine*); the hostel land at Inverkeithing on the north side; and the hostel lands of the South Queensferry (*passagii*) which Malcolm had granted. See note in A. O. Anderson's *Early Sources of Scottish History* vol. ii., p. 77.

[6] Statistical Account, 1751.

[7] Fyfe, *Summer Life on Land and Water at South Queensferry* (1851).

[8] The Pilgrim Stone stands on the west side of the road, high above a stone depot, between the Chapel Gate and the Leuchold Gate of Dalmeny Park.

[9] In connection with the Maundy custom already referred to in note above, *cf.* the mediæval custom still carried on in the country of Queen Margaret's birth and upbringing—Hungary. This washing of the feet of the poor was a living practice in the Hungarian Court until the latest date, and the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Hungary. Ref. Letter from Alexis Mathe, Ph.D., Budapest, 8th November 1923.

[10] See Right Rev. T. Geddes, *Life of St Margaret*, Aberdeen, 1794, p. 34.

[11] "Totus absorptus in spiritum . . . videns non videbat, audiens non audiebat; nihil sapiebat gustani, vix aliquid sensu aliquo corporis sentiebat"—(St Bern., Op. vol. ii. col. 1242).

[12] "Sic accidit ad sumendum cibum quasi ad tormentum . . . corrupto stomacho crudum continuo per os solet rejicere quod ingeritur . . . si quid autem residuum est, ipsum est alimentum corporis ejus qualecunque non tam ad vitam sustentandam quam ad differendam mortem"—(St Bern., Op. vol. ii. col. 1071).

[13] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. i., pp. 313-14.

[14] G. G. Coulton, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 144.

[15] It is, however, only a very remarkable case of circumstantial evidence; and circumstantial evidence is not a historical proof.

[16] *Pannicula de serico*—silken cloths. These were common in such illumined MSS.

[17] *Pellicio*—satchel. Service books were carried in satchels by itinerant Irish priests. See St Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (Reeves), p. 269, note.

[18] See St Adamnan's *Life of Columba* (Reeves), Bk. II., chap. viii.

[19] See *First Latin Life of St Ciaran*, R. A. Stewart Macalister (S.P.C.K., Series V., *Lives of the Celtic Saints*), p. 33; also *Irish Life of St Ciaran*, XL., in the same vol.

[20] *Books in Manuscript*, by Falconer Madan, p. 109.

[21] "*The Gospel Book of St Margaret*, being a facsimile reproduction of St Margaret's copy of the Gospels preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford." David Douglas (Edinburgh, 1896).

[22] *Breviary of Aberdeen*, 19th June.

[23] *Vita di Santa Margherita*, dal P. G. Lesles, S.J., Roma, 1675.

[24] *Cf.* Papebroch's Appendix to *Life of Queen Margaret* (Bollandists).

[25] In 1597.

[26] In 1620.

[27] In 1627.

[28] See *Vita di Santa Margherita*, dal P. G. Lesles, S.J., Roma, 1675.

[29] See Forbes Leith, *Life of Queen Margaret*, p. 83, note.

[30] Queen Margaret's *Gospel Book*, Bodleian Library (MS. Latin Liturg., f. 5).

[31] See Mr Falconer Madan's Letter to *The Academy*, No. 1796.

[32] Miss Lucy Hill, daughter of the editor of *Boswell's Life of Johnson*. To her is largely due the credit of the discovery.

[33] *Books in Manuscript*, by Falconer Madan, p. 109.

[34] For accounts of the discovery of this book, see *The Academy*, 6th August 1887, for Mr Falconer Madan's account of finding the MS.; *ibid.*, 20th August 1887, for Professor Westwood's paleographical account of the MS.; *ibid.*, 26th August 1887, for Rev. F. E. Warren's account of the liturgical value of the MS.

[35] Professor Westwood.

[36] British Museum, Royal MS. I. D. 9.

[37] Professor Westwood, *The Academy*, 20th August 1887. Ethelstan's Gospel Book at Hereford, examined by the present writer, 21st April 1925.

[38] Falconer Madan, *Books in Manuscript*, p. 54.

[39] The colours in Mr Forbes Leith's beautiful facsimile are not exactly the colours of the robes in the original. But that is hardly possible. MS. examined by the present writer in March 1923.

[40] Falconer Madan, *Books in Manuscript*, p. 50.

[41] *Cf.* Professor Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, p. 373, where he discusses the frugal use of gold in that much earlier and truly magnificent MS., the Lindisfarne Gospels.

[42] Falconer Madan, *Books in Manuscript*, p. 50.

[43] See Falconer Madan, *ibid.*, p. 109, for this version of the poem in which the old Latin is written with the contractions extended. Also *The Gospel Book of St Margaret*, edited by W. Forbes Leith, S.J., F.S.A. Scot., Introduction, p. 11.

[44] Ailred of Rievaulx (chap. ix. in Pinkerton's "*Vitæ*"; Metcalf's *Lives*, vol. ii., p. 206). "She had as confessor, Turgot, the second Prior of Durham. She called him to her, and began to relate to him her life, and to pour out rivers of tears at every word."

[45] Ailred of Rievaulx. See note in A. O. Anderson's *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 81.

[46] "*Vita*," chap. xii,

[47] Malcolm "harried with more animosity than ever behoved him" in the beginning of November 1093. See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 30, note 36. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, vol. ii., p. 196, *a.* 1093. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, vol. ii., p. 221, *a.* 1093. Ailred, Bk. IX., p. 139. Roger of Hoveden, i., p. 146. Fordun's *Chronicle*, Bk. V., chap. 20. Wyntoun's *Chronicle*, Bk. II., p. 164; Bk. VII., chap. iii. l. 321.

[48] This may mean either four or three days after the 13th November, the date on which Malcolm was slain. See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 30, note 37.

[49] "*Crucem Scotiæ nigram*," British Museum MS., Tiberius, E. 1, 186*a*.

[50] This, no doubt, refers to the case in which it was preserved.

[51] *Ailred of Rievaulx* (Bollandists, vol. xxi., p. 335).

[52] *Book of Old Edin. Club*, vol. iv., pp. 191-92.

[53] *Holyrood Ordinale*, edited by F. C. Eeles, 1916.

[54] *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 5-6: IV., Indentura de munimentis captis in Thesauraria de Edinburgh et depositis per preceptum regis Anglie apud Berewyk anno Domini MILLESIMO CCLXXXXI:—"*Unum scrineum argenteum de auratum in quo reponitur crux que vocatur la BLAK RODE.*"

[55] *The Holyrood Ordinale*, edited by F. C. Eeles, 1916.

[56] W. Moir Bryce, *Holyrood, its Palace and Abbey*, p. x.

[57] Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum Contin.*, vol. ii., p. 330, s. 26. *Chron. Mailros*, 75.

[58] Pinkerton, *Vitae Sanct. Scot.*, edited by Metcalfe, vol. ii., p. 281.

[59] *Scottish Acts of Parliament*, vol. i., pp. 111-12.

[60] *Lanercost Chronicle*, p. 261.

[61] "The Coronation Stone of Scotland," by Geo. Watson, in *Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, 1909.

[62] "*Vita*," chap. xiii. *Qui post patrem regni gubernacula jam nunc in presenti tenet*—"Who still at present holds the Government after his father." Eadgar is named in Ailred's *Life* (Metcalf, vol. ii., p. 507). He reigned 1097-1107.

[63] *Chronicle of Melrose*, inserted folio 13, p. 52.

[64] "*Vita*," chap. xiii.

[65] See "St Margaret of Scotland and her Chapel in Edinburgh Castle," in *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, by W. Moir Bryce, vol. v., 1912.

[66] Mr Oldrieve, of H.M. Office of Works, uncovered in 1910-1911 the foundations of a little church at Holyrood, which may point to an older (Celtic) building, but these were mere foundations. See *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. iv., pp. 191-92.

[67] Ordericus Vitalis, *Eccles. Hist. of England and Normandy*, Bk. VIII., chap. xxii.

[68] After the Great Fire of 1067. Lanfranc became Archbishop in 1070.

[69] Sir Daniel Wilson, "St Margaret's Chapel, Edinburgh," in *Proceedings Soc. Scot. Antiq.*, 13th June 1887.

[70] For other historical references to Queen Margaret's Chapel, see W. Moir Bryce's paper in *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. v. (1912) pp. 48-50.

[71] For the purpose of writing his *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time.*

[72] For the story of the rediscovery of St Margaret's Chapel see Sir Daniel Wilson's paper in *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. for Scotland*, 13th June 1887.

[73] Now in National Museum, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

[74] W. Moir Bryce, *Book of Old Edinburgh Club*, vol. v. (1912) p. 28

[75] Thomson's *Inventory*, p. 186.

[76] M'Gibbon and Ross, *Eccles. Arch. of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 226.

[77] *Ibid.*, Sir Daniel Wilson (*Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq. of Scotland*, 13th June 1887) even suggests that this attached building may have been the lodging containing the royal apartments, including the one referred to in a Charter of Alexander III. as the chamber of the blessed Queen Margaret, in the Maiden Castle of Edinburgh, and with which the chapel directly communicated.

[78] M'Gibbon and Ross, *Eccles. Arch. of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 227.

[79] M'Gibbon and Ross, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 230.

[80] Dr Thos. Ross and Sir Geo. Washington Brown, P.R.S.A.

[81] Fordun, Bk. V. chap. xxi. (*cf.* vol. i., p. 422: Bower, V., 26, i., 274) "in castro puellarum" on 16th November. See *Chronicle of Melrose* and Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, p. 262.

[82] This contradicts the statement of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II., 196, *a.* 1093. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, II., 222, *a.* 1093. Florence of Worcester, II., 32.

[83] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II., 196, *a.* 1093. Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, 449. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, II., 222, *a.* 1093.

[84] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II., 196, *a.* 1093. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, II., 222, *a.* 1093. Forence of Worcester, II., 32.

[86] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, II., 197. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, II., 222, *a.* 1093. Roger of Hoveden, I., 147, Fordun, Bk. V., chap. 24.

[86] Freeman, *The Reign of William Rufus*, vol. ii., p. 15.

[87] Symeon of Durham, *De Gest. Reg.*, *a.* 1093.

[88] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 431-32.

[89] Skene, "Prophecy of St Berchan" in the *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 103.

[90] Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, II., 220. Cf. *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ.*, I, 128-29. Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xx. Roger of Hoveden, I. 145.

[91] *Chronicle of Melrose*, p. 60, *a.* 1093.

[92] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1093.

[93] Florence of Worcester, II. 31.

[94] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *a.* 1093.

[95] "Godsib"—baptismal friend: literally "Gossip" (cf. *compater* in *Annals of Waverley* and *compæder* in *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS. E. *a.* 1095).

[96] Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, vol. ii., p. 309.

[97] Geoffrey Gaimer, *Estorie des Englas*, vol. i., pp. 260-61 ; also Continuator of William of Jumièges's *Historia Normanorum*, vol. viii., p. 8.

[98] William of Jumièges's *Historia Normanorum*, vol. viii. p. 8.

CHAPTER XI

THE HERITAGE OF RELIGION SHE LEFT TO HER SONS

Queen Margaret left a great religious heritage to her sons and daughters, and no work that any mother ever began was more faithfully carried out and finished by her sons. Three of her sons became Kings of Scotland, Eadgar, Alexander, and David. As we have already seen one of her daughters, Matilda, married Henry I. of England. David I. married Matilda, Countess of Huntingdon, the grand-niece of William the Conqueror. So Margaret Aetheling joined the royal fortunes of Scotland and England through more than one line. Her two vital characteristics were, a leaning to the Anglo-Saxon South and a firm faith in the Roman Church. These, we shall now see, were reproduced in her sons.

It is significant of the extraordinary influence which the Queen had over her husband, that not one of the six sons she bore to Malcolm had the name of a Scots King. Indeed, all the sons bore Anglo-Saxon names. It is not to

be wondered at, therefore, that the saintly Queen moulded the life and religion of her children according to her own will. One son, Aethelred, became the Culdee Bishop of Dunkeld. But her real spiritual aims were carried out more especially by her three royal sons.

Eadgar, the first of her sons to ascend the throne (1097-1107) was a sweet and amiable man,[1] who reminded his friends of Eadward the Confessor. For ten years he reigned in peace, yet like his father Malcolm he could do desperate deeds, for he put out the eyes of his uncle, Donald Ban.[2] Like his mother he had a strong leaning to the Church and gave lands to the Church at Durham, Coldingham, Dunfermline, and St Andrews.[3] He reigned over both the Scots and Saxons, but from the names of witnesses attached to his Charters he seemed to have leant more to the English than to the Scots.[4] The most vital act of his reign was the signing over of the Western Isles to Magnus Barefoot in 1102. This was a severe blow to the ancient Celtic Church in Scotland, whose early home was at Iona, and by this agreement Iona, the most sacred shrine of the old Faith, was put outside of Scotland for over a hundred and fifty years. But the traditions of the Columban Church would not weigh much with the son of a saintly Queen whose

ecclesiastical ambition had been to bring the Culdee Church in line with the ritual of the Roman Church.

After him came *Alexander I.* (1107-1124), a very different character, as his surname "The Fierce" implies. Alexander married Sybylla, the natural daughter of Henry I. of England.[5] He did his best to anglicise both Church and State, and he put down with a firm hand a rising in the North. In token of his gratitude to God for this victory he founded the Monastery of Scone and filled it with Augustinian Canons brought from Nastley in Yorkshire. He founded other two Augustinian houses. One was a Priory on the little island at the east end of Loch Tay. It was here that Sybylla, Alexander's Queen, died in 1122, and the island is still called Sybylla's Isle.

The other Augustinian foundation was also on an island, Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth. The King on one occasion was caught in a tempest and stranded on this island of Inchcolm. He and his companions found shelter for three days in the cell of a Celtic hermit, who fed his royal guest and his attendants on shell-fish and the milk of his one cow. In token of his gratitude Alexander founded the Monastery of Inchcolm in the year 1123.[6] A remnant of this church can still be seen incorporated

in the buildings of the monastic settlement which was added in the thirteenth century.

Alexander also anglicised the Bishopric of St Andrews. Fothad was the last Celtic Bishop of St Andrews, and he died in 1093,[7] the very year that saw the passing of Malcolm and Margaret. The See seems to have remained vacant until the death of Eadgar. But Alexander, on ascending the throne, summoned Turgot, Prior of Durham, his mother's biographer, and he became the Bishop of St Andrews on 20th June 1107.[8] So an Englishman was now at the head of the Church in Scotland which was Celtic in speech and largely Celtic in custom. But as Turgot was inclined to recognise the Archbishop of York as his ecclesiastical superior, Alexander parted with him fearing that this might bring him into political trouble with the South.[9] Alexander then had a new Bishop called Eadmer sent from Canterbury. But Eadmer was inclined quite naturally to recognise the Archbishop of Canterbury as his head. Again, Alexander the Fierce parted with Eadmer, and St Andrews was once more without a Bishop for some time. But when Eadmer died in 1124 the King appointed Robert, the Prior of the Royal Monastery at Scone, as Bishop of St Andrews.[10]

All this goes to show that, as Queen Margaret moulded the Celtic Church after her own will to the Roman ritual, so her sons were dominating the Church in their own generation on the lines of their saintly mother's desire.

Alexander is credited with having founded the Bishopric of Moray.[11] He reconstituted the Bishopric of Dunkeld. He and his brother David also took part in instituting the Bishopric of Glasgow.[12]

Again we see here, that although Queen Margaret did not live to see the Roman diocesan system imposed on the Celtic Church, to which it was foreign—indeed, she does not seem to have attempted that herself—yet the diocesan system was set on a firm basis in Celtic Scotland by her son Alexander I.

It is, however, when we come to *David I.*, Margaret's third son to ascend the throne, that we realise how her extravagant passion for the Roman Church was indulged to the very uttermost in the generation which succeeded her. If Margaret had conceived the dream of a Romanised Celtic Church, her three sons, Eadgar, Alexander, and David, carried it out in detail during the fifty-six years covered by their reigns.

None did this more elaborately than David I.

To begin with, he spent his youth at the Court of Henry I. of England, who had married his sister Matilda, "the good Queen Maud" of English history.[13] That would give him a natural leaning to English ways and the Roman forms of religion at the very Court where his mother had received similar training under Eadward the Confessor. David having married an English wife—Matilda, the daughter and heir of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon—that would give him additional affinities with the South.[14]

But the person who really fired David's passion for the Church was St Bernard of Clairvaux, who in 1098 instituted the Cistercian Order and in 1115 founded the Monastery of Clairvaux. David seems to have been so enamoured of the great monk that he actually made a pilgrimage to Tiron, near Chartres in 1117 to see St Bernard, whose influence had swept so many rich men and poor men in Europe into the monastic life. The royal pilgrim from Scotland took twelve Tiron monks and an Abbot back with him, and that was the beginning of David's prodigal building of Abbeys in Scotland.

With his Abbot and the twelve Tiron monks, he founded the Monastery of Selkirk, which in 1128 was transferred to Kelso. Then

followed that magnificent list of Abbeys which owed their origin to David's munificence—Jedburgh, Holyrood, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Cambuskenneth, Holmcultram,[15] Kinloss, and Dryburgh—ten Abbeys in all.[16]

So with the Bishoprics. Before his accession to the throne there had only been four Bishoprics —St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Moray. To these David added other five—Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Dunblane, and Brechin.[17] Little wonder that, long afterwards, James I., standing by David's tomb in Dunfermline, exclaimed, "He was ane sair sanct for the Crown."[18] Monks streamed over from the Continent, traders settled round the monasteries, and according to one chronicler[19] the town population of Lothian was chiefly composed of English and Flemings. This mixing up of so many Roman Catholic incomers with the native population of Scotland would greatly help to transform the religious life of the land.

David's reign lasted for twenty-nine years (1124-1153); but in that time it is questionable if any King on earth with such a small Kingdom ever founded so many great churches and built so many magnificent abbeys, the very ruins of which to-day are more beautiful than any existing ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland.

"He illumynyd in his dayis
His landys wyth kyrkys and wyth abbayis:
Byschaprykys he fand bot foure or thre;
Bot, or he deyd, nyne lefft he.
Abbays he [founddit] nyne or ten,
And set in thame relygyws men.
Melros and Holmcultrane
And Newbatill in Lowthyane,
Kynlos in Murawe, South-Berewyke,
Till Cystews all in ordyr lyk:
Halyrwdhous he byggyd syne,
Cambyskynell nere Strewelyne,
All thir abbays fowndyd he
And rychely gert thame dowyt be." [20]

He inherited to an extraordinary degree the religious passion of his mother for the monastic ideal. We have only to read the "Lament" for David which was written by Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx [21] to realise the place which David I. took in the twelfth century as an Abbey builder, a royal missionary of Rome, and a promoter of the new learning in his own country.

But not even in David's time were the old Culdee traditions and practices altogether suppressed. For at St Andrews and St Serf's, their two strongholds, the Culdees resisted the English churchmen most vigorously, and the Culdee churchmen may have had something to do with the ousting of Turgot and Eadmer from the See at St Andrews in the time of

Alexander I. According to Bishop Robert,[22] who was Eadmer's successor at St Andrews, the Latin Mass was never celebrated for the fifty years that followed the nominal acceptance of the Roman usages unless when the King or the Bishop was present, the Culdees insisting on celebrating their own Office in their own way. But it is difficult at any time to suppress one cult of religion and initiate another.

Bishop Robert, however, dealt severely with the Culdees of St Andrews by establishing in 1144 a corporation of Augustinian Canons which was confirmed by a Royal Charter and a Papal Bull. Pope Eugenius III.,[23] increased these powers giving them the right to elect their own Superior, and decreed that when any of the Culdees died Canons Regular were to be elected in their place.[24]

To show how determined David I. was to set up the Roman Rule in Scotland, we need only refer to his treatment of the Culdees of St Serf, one of the very oldest Culdee foundations which had been honoured by Malcolm and Margaret and enriched by Aethelred and Eadgar their sons. Indeed, Aethelred had even been the Culdee Bishop of Dunkeld. At first David also protected the Culdees; but now his suppression of St

Serf's was drastic in the extreme. Here is the wording of his Charter:—

"Know ye, that I have given and granted to the Canons of St Andrews the island of Loch Leven, in order that they may institute there a Canonical Order; and that the Keledei who shall be found there, if they choose to live according to the Canons, may remain at peace with them, and under them. If any of them choose to oppose this, I give orders that he be cast out of the island." [25]

This, indeed, was the end of the Culdee settlement on the island of St Serf. It was quite evident now that King David meant to suppress the cult of the Culdees altogether, but their total extinction was hardly completed until the second half of the thirteenth century.[26]

So while Queen Margaret began the great campaign of Rome against Culdee usages in the Celtic Church of Scotland, and while her three royal sons continued to work out in detail the diocesan system of St Peter's, it took a long time before the entire Romanising of Scotland was completed.

But David not only planted Abbeys and instituted Bishoprics; he also granted land to foreign settlers from the South, and set up feudalism in Scotland. The names of *Mormaer* and *Toisech* [27] were transformed into Earl and

Thane, and the land passed from tribal ownership to that of the King. The vassals who held the most valuable land in the Kingdom acknowledged David as their feudal head. For example, the King granted Annandale to de Bruce, Cunninghame in Ayrshire to de Moreville, and Renfrew to Fitzalan. Men of Norman, Saxon, and Danish extraction settled down in the country. Towns and burghs arose. In all this David was not only carrying out the ecclesiastical and Saxon aims of his mother, Queen Margaret, but he was like her an agent of those twelfth century European forces which were moulding the whole world through a system of feudalism and the Church of Rome. His treatment of the old Culdee Church may sometimes have been harsh, as at St Serf's, but we must never overlook the fact that the whole world tendency of the time was to remould every branch of the Christian Church by means of the enthusiasm of the monastic renascence. The authority of Kings and feudal landlords certainly conflicted, on occasions, with the authority of Rome. But, broadly speaking, it is true that the Culdee system in Scotland was now a dying cause, and the monastic system of Rome had become an irresistible world-movement. St Bernard of Clairvaux was the very highest expression of Christian

asceticism, and Queen Margaret's perfervid son, David I., was just one of the many enthusiasts who applied the monastic ideal of St Bernard to his own particular country—Scotland.

So he was a worthy finisher of the holy task which the good Queen had begun, and it is a significant fact that while the mother was canonised by the Roman Catholic Church,[28] the son will ever be known in history by the name of the "Cathedral Builder," who bought his reputation for sainthood by sorely crippling the resources of the Crown of Scotland.

If anything else was required to prove that St Margaret and her sons had succeeded in bringing the Church in Scotland under the complete control of the Roman Rule, it would be the fact, that only twenty-three years after the death of David I.[29] Jocelyn, the Bishop of Glasgow, defended his See and indeed the whole Church in Scotland against the claim that it should be made subject to the Church in England, by asserting that it was "the special daughter of the Roman Church."[30] That phrase is a proof in symbol that the whole aim of Queen Margaret's saintly life had at last been accomplished.

REFERENCES.

[1] Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, II., p. 238. Fordun, Bk.V., chap. xxvii. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 440-46.

[2] Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xxvi.

[3] Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 46, note 9. Durham Charters, Nos. 555-58. Reg. Dunfermelyn, 3, 5, Nos. 1, 2. Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xxvi. Wyntoun, Bk. VII., chap. iv., 1, p. 429.

[4] Hume Brown, *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 53.

[5] Ordericus Vitalis, Bk. VIII., chap. xxii.

[6] Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xxviii.

[7] Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, pp. 27, 30. Fothad (1059-1093).

[8] See Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 51, note 7. Two years elapsed before Turgot was consecrated at York on 1st August 1109. Florence of Worcester, II., 60; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, II., p. 204. Wyntoun, Bk. VII., chap. v., ll. 663-726.

[9] Turgot withdrew to his old home at Wearmouth, and died there in 1115. Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, vol. ii., pp. 204, 205. *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 267-9. *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 1, 2.

[10] Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, vol. i., pp. 56-57.

[11] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., 368-70, also note 6 on p. 368. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 171.

[12] *Reg. Ep. Glasguensis*, i.-vii., No. 1. Keith, *Bishops*, pp. 230, 231. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., 375-76.

[13] William of Malmesbury, II., 627. Fordun, Bk. V., chap. xxx. He was "still a youth" in 1100 or later. He was born therefore about 1080, being the sixth son of his father Malcolm by his marriage with Margaret Aetheling.

[14] David's marriage, about 1113-1114. *Chronicle of Huntingdon*, p. 211. Fordun, Bk. V., chaps. xxxi.-xxxii. (her Pedigree). Wyntoun, Bk. VII., chap. vi., l. 940.

[15] Holmcultram was in Cumberland. See Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 436-38.

[16] For particulars of the dates of these ten Abbeys, see Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, pp. 59-63, and the notes under each Abbey—Jedburgh (1118), Holyrood (1128), Kelso (1128), Melrose

(1136), Newbattle (1140), Dundrennan (1142), Cambuskenneth (1147), Holmcultram (1150), Kinloss (1150), Dryburgh (1150).

[17] For dates of founding of these Bishoprics, see Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, pp. 59-63.

[18] Bellenden (xii., 17).

[19] William of Newburgh.

[20] Wyntoun, Bk. VII., chap. vi., ll. 843, etc.

[21] Fordun, Bk. V., chaps. xxxv.-xlix. Ailred of Rievaulx's "Lament" immortalises David as Turgot's "*Vita*" immortalised Queen Margaret his mother. Both are truly mediæval in their eulogistic language.

[22] See Reeves, *Culdees*, p. 37.

[23] Eugenius III., 1145-1153.

[24] Macewen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. i., p. 189.

[25] *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 187.

[26] *Liber Prior S. Andreæ*, pp. 43, 48-50. Bull of Pope Eugenius IV., 30th August 1147. *Chartulary of Abbey of Lindores*, p. 118. Bull of Pope Innocent IV. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 226-77. Dunbar, *Scottish Kings*, p. 63.

[27] *Mormaer* = Earl (early in the twelfth century); the head of a province. From *mor*, "sea"; and *maer*, "an officer" —literally a "sea steward" — an office which orginally appears to have been connected with coast defence. *Toisech* = Thane (early in twelfth century); the captain of a district, sometimes convertible with *Mormaer*, a relative term. It means generally headman of any particular job as well as leader of the tribe. See Mackinnon, *Constitutional History of Scotland*, pp. 69-73, and note on pp. 70-71.

[28] By Pope Innocent IV., 19th June 1250. See *Aberdeen Breviary*, 19th June, and Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 95.

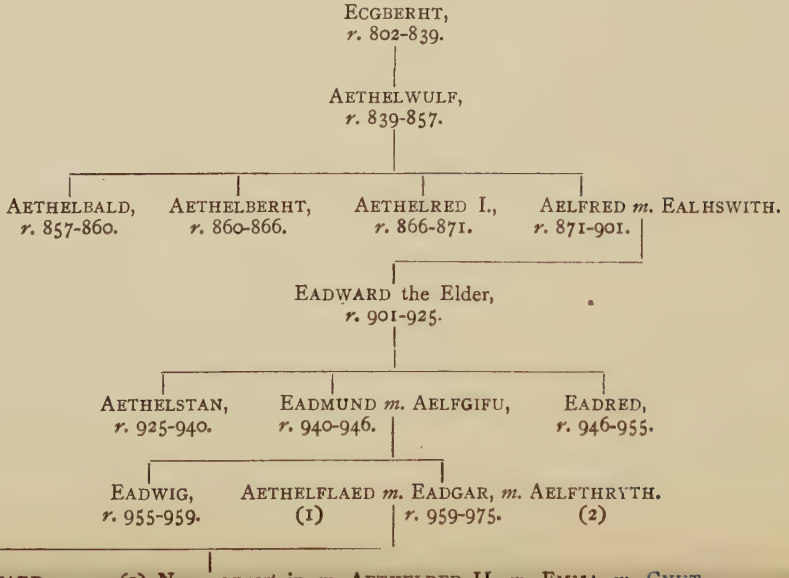
[29] In 1176 at the Council of Northampton.

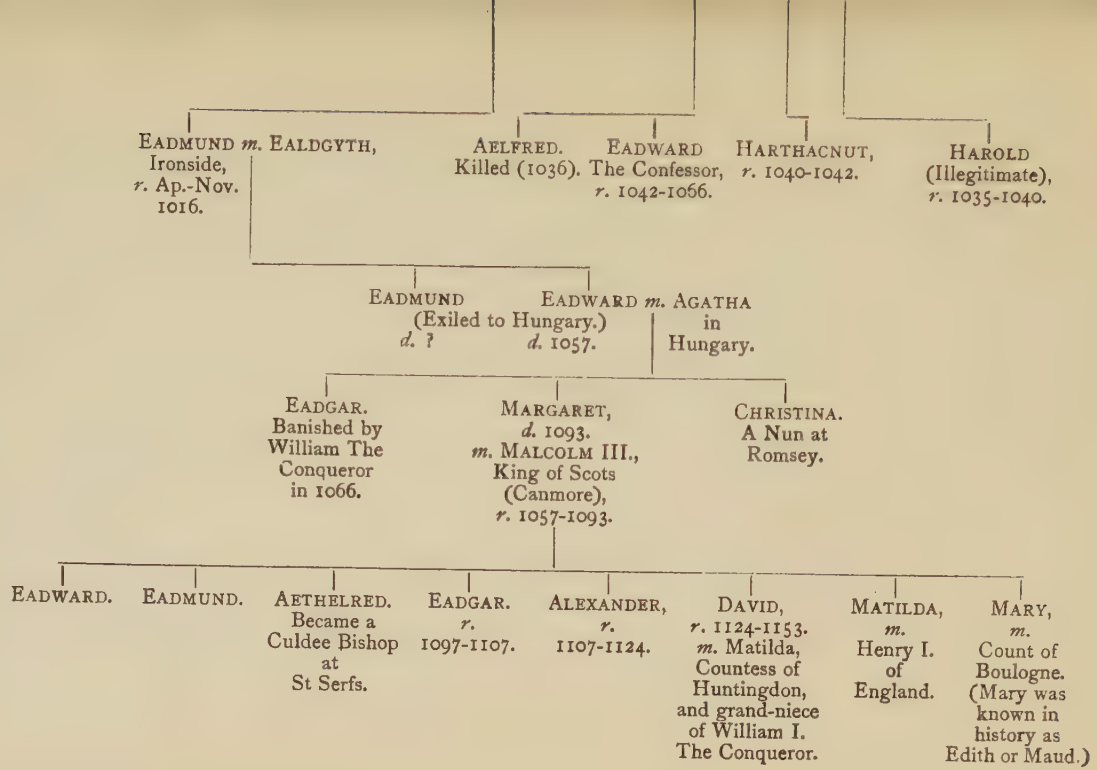
[30] Roger of Hoveden, vol. ii., p. 92. "Ecclesia specialis filia est Romanæ ecclesiæ . . . nulla subjectione facta Anglicanæ ecclesiæ." Also Lawrie, *Annals*, 1153-1214, p. 207. A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Sources*, p. 265, note 2.

Appendices

Appendix I

ANCESTRY OF QUEEN MARGARET.




EADMUND Ironside, r. Ap.-Nov. 1016.
m. EALDGYTH,
AELFRED. Killed (1036).
EADWARD The Confessor, r. 1042-1066.
HARTHACNUT, r. 1040-1042.
HAROLD (Illegitimate), r. 1035-1040.
EADMUND (Exiled to Hungary.) d. ?
EADWARD d. 1057.
m. AGATHA in Hungary.
EADGAR. Banished by William The Conqueror in 1066.
MARGARET, d. 1093. m. MALCOLM III., King of Scots (Canmore), r. 1057-1093.
CHRISTINA. A Nun at Romsey.
EADWARD.
EADMUND.
AETHELRED. Became a Culdee Bishop at St Serfs.
EADGAR. r. 1097-1107.
ALEXANDER, r. 1107-1124.
DAVID, r. 1124-1153. m. Matilda, Countess of Huntingdon, and grand-niece of William I. The Conqueror.
MATILDA, m. Henry I. of England.
MARY, m. Count of Boulogne. (Mary was known in history as Edith or Maud.)

Appendix II

LANFRANC'S LETTER TO QUEEN MARGARET[1]

LANFRANC, unworthy Bishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, to the glorious Queen of the Scots, Margaret, greeting and benediction:

The brief space of a letter cannot unfold the great gladness with which thou hast filled my heart, when I have read thy letter which thou hast sent to me, queen beloved of God. With what delight flow the words, which proceed by inspiration of the divine spirit! For I believe that the things thou hast written were said not by thee, but through thee. Truly He has spoken with thy mouth, who says to His disciples, "Learn from me because I am gentle and of humble heart." From this teaching of Christ it has come that thou, born of royal stock, royally brought up, nobly united to a noble King, hast chosen as father me, a stranger, worthless, ignoble, entangled in sin, and dost beg me to regard thee as a spiritual daughter. I am not such as thou [thinkest], but, may I be such, because thou thinkest it![2] Continue not in delusion; pray for me that I may be worthy as a father to pray to the Lord

for thee, and to be heard. Let there be traffic of prayers and benefits in common between us. Though I give small [benefits], yet I am confident of receiving much greater. Henceforth, then, let me be thy father, and be thou my daughter.

According to thy request I send to thy glorious husband and thee our dearest brother, Sir Goldwine; also two other brothers, because he could not fulfil in himself alone all that ought to be done in God's service and yours. I ask too, and ask earnestly, that you should endeavour resolutely and effectually to complete what you have begun for God and for your souls. And if you can, or wish to, fulfil your work through others we would greatly desire that these our brothers should return to us, because they were very necessary to our Church in their services. But let it be according to your will, and we desire in everything to obey you.

REFERENCES.

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. ii., 155-56; also Giles, *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (1843-48), Lanfranc, I., 59-60; Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, 9, *cf.* pp. 236-37; Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cl., pp. 549-50; A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. ii., p. 31.

[2] "Non sum quod petas; sed sim quia putas." Migne, Giles, and Lawrie read *putas* for *petas*.

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